Volume 22, No. 1 Spring Number, 1933

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Chairman of the Membership Committee, John W. Cadbury, Jr., Moorestown, New Jersey. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Membership Committee.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

" Perpetual Membership " has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, " In Memoriam."

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THE ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1932

Friends' Historical Association held its annual meeting in the west room of the Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia, on Second-day, Eleventh month 28, 1932. Charles Francis Jenkins, President of the Association, presided at the business meeting. The annual reports of the President and Treasurer were given, and Directors of the Association were elected for the ensuing year. After the adjournment of the business meeting, the Directors met and elected officers, with results as indicated on the preceding page of this BULLETIN.

The President's report outlined the activities of the Association for the past year, which included the meeting held at Chester, Pennsylvania, on Fifth month 21, 1932; the issuance of two numbers of our BULLETIN; and the erection of a tablet to mark the site of the first Friends' meeting house in Philadelphia.

The President also referred to the part which members of the Association had taken in the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the arrival of William Penn in America. In this connection he reported that he had received 250 acorns which had been gathered by English Friends from trees in the Penn country of Buckinghamshire, England. These acorns had all been distributed to various individuals and to Friends' Colleges in America, in the hope that a new generation of " Penn trees " would soon be flourishing in this country.

The President presented to the Association the box in which these acorns had been packed. This box was made from an oak beam dated 1636, from the church on the hill at West Wycombe.

Members of the Association joined in expressing their great appreciation of the distinguished service performed by our President, Charles Francis Jenkins, in acting as Chairman of the Penn commemoration committee.

A brief report was then received from Maurice J. Babb on the work of the Penn Medal Committee, and Edward E. Wildman told of the progress which had been made in locating old trees in the Delaware Valley which were growing at the time of Penn's arrival in America.

Greetings were brought to the meeting by two of our former Presidents, Amelia Mott Gummere and Lucy B. Roberts. Amelia M. Gummere expressed her concern that more satisfactory headquarters be found for the display of the valuable collections of the Association.

The Treasurer's report showed initial balance and receipts for the year totaling $2,809.24, and expenses for the year totaling $1,920.27, leaving a cash balance in bank of $888.97. In addition to this balance, the Association has funds in the form of cash and securities totaling $3,311.40.

The Association then turned its attention to the very interesting and valuable exhibit of old manuscripts and historical relics brought by members and friends of the Association, and exhibited on tables at the front of the meeting room.

Amelia M. Gummere brought two exhibits of interest. One was a sampler made by Hannah Head, daughter of John and Rebecca (Macy) Head, of Philadelphia, in 1732, when she was eleven years old. The second was an indenture, or written contract drawn up in due form, dated February 3, 1681 (O. S.), by which Hannah Salter of " Tacony upon Delaware River," widow of Henry Salter of London, transfers to John Hooton of Mansfield, West Jersey, " her ½ share of a 6th part of a share or shares of lands in West Jersey which Henry Salter bought of John Helmsley of Great Kelke, Yorkshire, April 5, 1677 (O. S.)."

Mrs. Henry Pemberton, Jr., exhibited a number of documents deriving from early Quaker times. One was an indenture of the apprenticeship of Isaac Pemberton, son of Phineas and Phebe Pemberton, to Samuel Carpenter, from the year 1702. There were two marriage certificates, one of Isaac Pemberton and Rachel Read, from the year 1702, and bearing the signatures Saml Carpenter, Francis Cooke, Thos Story, Isaac Norris, Wm Fishbourn, James Estaugh, Geo. Claypoole, Saml Powell, Martha Chalkley, Stephen Jenkins, and others; the other of John Shall-

cross, Jr., and Sarah Knowles, both of Oxford Township, Pennsylvania, from the year 1728, and bearing the signatures Joseph Shallcross, John Knowles, John Shallcross, Joseph Paull, Ann Paull, Sam[l] Morris, Thomas Chalkley, and others. A fourth document was a "Deputation," or commission, issued by Thomas Lloyd to Phineas Pemberton as deputy keeper of the rolls, and may perhaps be printed here in full, line for line according to the original:

A Deputation to
Ph: Pemberton,
ffor
Keeping the Rolls
Office

By vertue of a Com̃[ion]: from the Gou[r]: unto me, under y[e] great seal of this Prov: & territories, I doe hereby nominate, constitute & app[t]: thee to be my Deputy in the Office of Rolls & publique Registry for y[e] County of Bucks, There to record w[th] a good legible Character, in a suitable Large, & sufficient Paper Book all such instrum[ts]: & writings w[ch]: The Law of this Province &c requires to be recorded: And in Compensation for thy Care & Service in this imploy, Thou art hereby Impowered, to take the respective Fees, w[ch]: The Law in y[t] Case provides, And to be acc[t]able to me or Assigns, for y[e] one moiety of such Fees upon such Demand or order: This Deputation to Continue for 12 m[ths]: & till further order, thou behaving thy Selfe well & according to the Trust reposed in thee: Pennsbury 5[th]: of 3rd m[o]: 1686

Tho: Lloyd:
M[r]: of y[e] Rolls:

To my Lo: Friend Phineas Pemberton
near Delaware Falls:

Mary M. Kite exhibited a number of dolls of ancient days, in costumes which now appear quaint; Ellis W. Bacon had brought a cane which was marked "John Bacon 1714, Joseph Bacon 1814, Thomas P. Bacon 1914." Major David S. B. Chew had brought an exceedingly interesting volume, in manuscript, containing certain admonitions addressed by the Yearly Meeting to its membership, and constituting the basis of what has since come to be the discipline and annual advices, in very early form, dating from the year 1704. We hope that this volume may be more fully dealt with in the next issue of the BULLETIN by the pre-

ceding Editor of the BULLETIN, who has gathered materials for an article on the origin and early development of the discipline.

There were many other exhibits kindly loaned for the occasion by individual members, of which, however, no official memoranda were preserved. In addition, there was a considerable display of manuscript treasures belonging to the Association itself, about fifty items in all, which had been brought out and arranged by the Curator, Lydia Flagg Gummere. These documents included letters of early Friends in America to each other, memorials to meetings and to governmental officials, invoices of goods, reports of committees appointed to carry out various Quaker concerns, a map of lands on the Delaware claimed by Tinguokena & Co., copies of early religious and political speeches, etc., constituting an exceedingly interesting set of contemporary documents relating to colonial Pennsylvania.

After the inspection of the exhibits, members adjourned to the supper room, where they enjoyed a refreshing collation.

MEETINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

A meeting of the Board of Directors was held on First month 26, 1933. Albert Cook Myers reported for the Friends Records Committee that photostats had been made of the minutes of Nottingham Meeting, and were now ready to be bound. The Headquarters Committee was unable to report success in finding a suitable place for permanent headquarters for the Association. Mention was made of attempts to spread the membership in the Association through prominent Friends in Baltimore, New York, and New England Yearly Meetings. Report was made of the desire of Guilford College, and of Woodbrooke, for complete sets of issues of the BULLETIN.

A meeting of the Board of Directors was held on Fourth month 10, 1933. The Committee on Sites and Relics, under the chairmanship of Albert Cook Myers, was authorized to cooperate with Friends at Fallsington in erecting a tablet as a memorial of the meeting to be held there on Fifth month 20, commemorating the 250th anniversary of the founding of Falls Monthly Meeting.

NOTES ON THIS ISSUE OF THE BULLETIN

The frontispiece to this issue of the BULLETIN shows the tablet erected by the Friends' Historical Association, cooperating with Fallsington Friends, in accordance with the decision reached at the Board meeting of Fourth month 10. The upper seal on the tablet is a reproduction of the seal which William Penn made for Bucks County, showing the Penn arms, with the date [16]83, surmounted by a tree and vine. The lower seal is that of the Friends' Historical Association, showing the Penn arms, surmounted by a book and scroll. Another picture of this tablet, showing it in its setting at Fallsington, is shown facing page 13. The tablet itself measures 28 x 45 inches; the design was kindly contributed by Paul P. Cret, noted Philadelphia architect.

While Friends at Fallsington celebrate this year the 250th anniversary of the founding of their meeting, our British Friends (and friends) are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the general emancipation of slaves in the British Empire, effected, largely because of Quaker agitation, by an act of Parliament of 1833.

In this year of success for the British movement, an event occurred of real significance in the corresponding American movement—the opening of Prudence Crandall's school for Negro girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. Although she was shortly forced to close her school, because of bitter and aggressive opposition, Prudence Crandall's battle for Negro education remains a landmark in American social history; and it is with satisfaction that, on the centenary of her experiment, we print a carefully documented account of the whole episode.

The document given on page 58, consisting of the reprint of the journal of Zachariah Ferris covering a long journey in the year 1790, is interesting as a contemporary record of places, meetings, and persons visited shortly after our own Revolution, and the year after the fall of the Bastille in France. The manuscript was carefully copied and was collated with the original before being set up in type, and the proof was again collated; so that the reprint may be assumed to be *verbatim et literatim* accurate. Mr. de Valinger has provided an illuminating introduction, and notes.

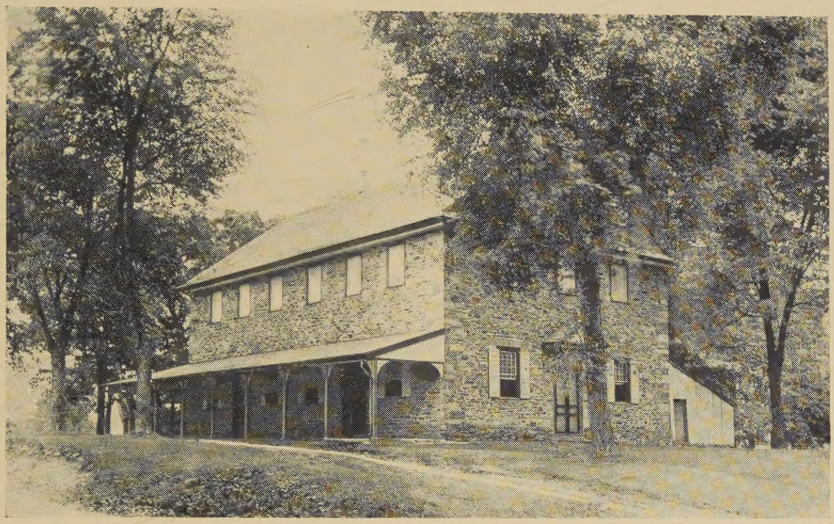
THE MEETING AT FALLSINGTON [1]

Here in Fallsington there is no great cathedral;
No dusky aisle approaches a dim altar.
Only soft aisles of green lie still beneath the oaks.
Here is no pale stained radiance of tinted glass:
Only the sunlight breaks in green and gold and patterned amber
Through the fretted canopy of leaves.
There is no shadowed nave and transept cruciform:
No rich carved choir stalls, no censers swinging,
No lofty echo of the many-throated organ—
Naught save the dusk and light of eve and early dawning,
Naught save the breath laid on the air by ripening seasons,
Naught save the choirs where wild birds sing; and for a holier music,
Only the deep reverberations awakened in the heart
By memory of names made sacred by the lives
Of those who bore them.
Nay, this is no mighty house builded with hands:
Rather the house is very humble, brown the stone,
The lintel low, the threshold worn.
Yet by these signs, a shrine imperishable, serene,
And bound about with all the shining beauty of the spirit.

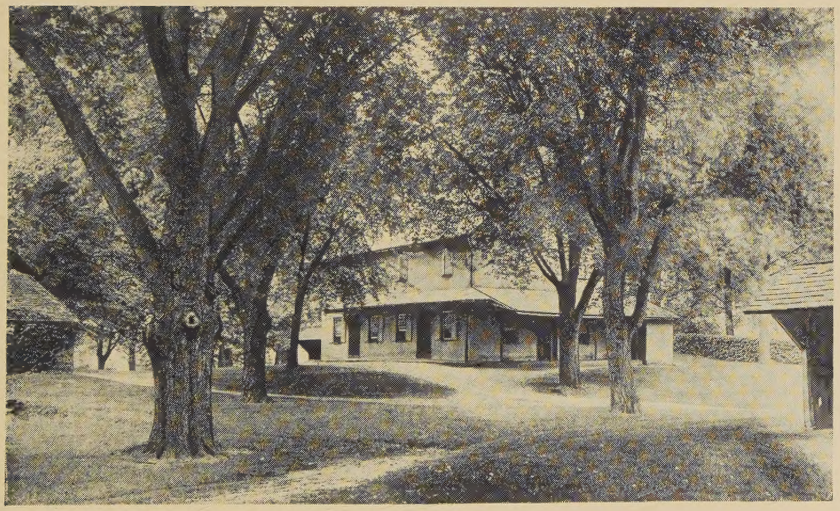
Cherish it.
It was builded with a struggle more than that of hands,
By those who have redeemed with meekness and with faith
The Quaker name, the Quaker thought from old contumely and strict oppression.
They have bequeathed the name, now full of honor, by their lives;
They have bequeathed this meeting place, exquisite, fair.
No man can say how deeply it is hallowed.
Hid in each separate heart there lies the answer—
For as the spirit builds, so can the spirit break.
No word can speak the immeasurable depth of consecration
That life upon life has poured into this place.
Let each man quicken to his heritage
And have the ears to hear,
The eyes to see this meeting.

—Sara G. Edgerton

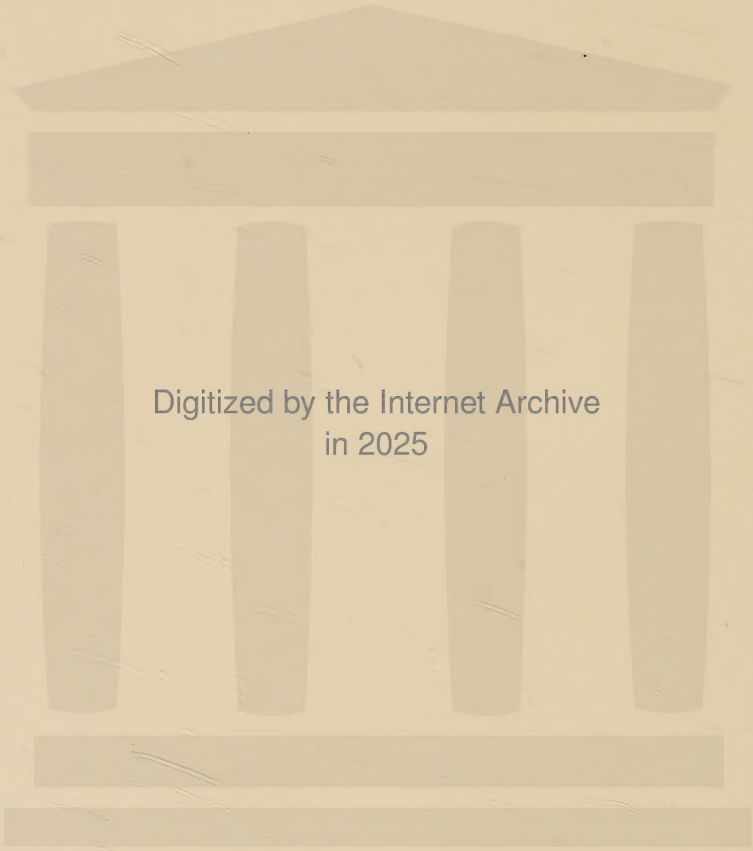
[1] Read at the 250th anniversary celebration at Fallsington.



The Hicksite Meeting House at Fallsington
Built in 1789.



The Orthodox Meeting House at Fallsington
Built in 1841.



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THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF FALLS MONTHLY MEETING

For its spring meeting, the FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION joined the celebration organized by Bucks County Friends for Fifth month 20, 1933, commemorating the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Falls Monthly Meeting. The weather was perfect (though a storm in the evening overtook many on the way home); the two meeting houses in their spacious grounds, the fine old trees, and the natural character of the ground made a surpassingly beautiful setting for the program; and Friends and others gathered in numbers variously estimated at 2,000, 2,500, or 3,000.

The arrangements had been made with much foresight and thoughtfulness. Anticipating the possibility of rain, the Committee had provided for two sets of meetings, to run simultaneously in the two meeting houses; but as the weather was fair, the two meetings were changed into one great open-air meeting on the lawn, and amplifiers carried the spoken words to the entire audience.

For any individual visitor, the program opened upon arrival; for the old meeting houses and grounds, and the hip-roof schoolhouse, formerly a meeting house, are charming enough to justify one in whiling away many an hour merely in the enjoyment of their picturesque beauty. The FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION had prepared a bronze memorial tablet (see illustration, frontispiece), which well repaid a few moments' contemplation. For this tablet Fallsington Friends had provided a huge slab of native rock, a part of the rocky ridge which, continued into the near-by river, causes the very falls from which the place is named. This monument was set up in a commanding position at the intersection of two roads flanking the grounds, so that anyone driving either road commanded an easy view of it; and, though the tablet had been very recently set in place, the foundation had been carefully graded, sodded, and planted with ornamental bushes actually in bloom, so that the usually inevitable effect of raw newness was completely overcome.

The program technically began at noon, with the opening to the public of a display of antiques, relics, and heirlooms in the hip-roof schoolhouse. Many owners of these relics had contributed to make a really notable display, of which perhaps a more detailed account can be given in the next number of the BULLETIN. The care required in listing and describing these exhibits is such that there has not been time to do justice to this part of the day's program in the current issue.

The active "exercises" of the day began at 2.15, with the dedication of seven trees, planted on the grounds of the meeting houses in commemoration of seven of the near-by meetings, offshoots of Falls Monthly Meeting, and sprinkled with water from seven different neighboring sources, by children of the meetings. This part of the program was as follows:

BRISTOL . . . . . By Walter Leedom
Sprinkled with water from the Delaware
Children: Mary Townsend Davis, Anna Parr Haines

MIDDLETOWN . . . . . By Sarah Allen
Sprinkled with water from the Neshaminy
Children: Paul Townsend, Jr., Sarah Cadwallader Wood

BUCKINGHAM . . . . . By Ellen D. Atkinson
Sprinkled with water from Ingham Spring
Children: Ann Lenore Smith, James W. Atkinson

SOLEBURY . . . . . By William H. Hurley
Sprinkled with water from the Cutallosa
Children: Walter Rex, Donald Fetting

NEWTOWN . . . . . By Dr. Arthur Roberts
Sprinkled with water from Newtown Creek
Children: Barbara Kenderdine, Adele Kenderdine

WRIGHTSTOWN . . . . . By Robert Atkinson
Sprinkled with water from Powasinick Creek
Children: Edith Parry, Kendell Tomlinson

MAKEFIELD . . . . . By J. Augustus Cadwallader
Sprinkled with water from Core Creek
Children: Virginia Yardley, Newlen Ely

Following the dedication of the trees came the dedication of a horse mounting block, which had been restored by former students, teachers, and friends of Fallsington Friends' School, with a roll call of former students down to 1910.

The lawn between the two meeting houses was pretty well covered with an expectant audience by three o'clock, when the formal

meeting began. After brief addresses of welcome by the presiding officers, A. Russell Burton and Henry T. Moon, a letter of greeting was read from ex-President Hoover, one of whose ancestors, Samuel Burges, donated to Friends a tract of six acres, upon which the meeting houses now stand. A letter from overseas was then read, bearing greetings from Friends of Bristol and Frenchay Monthly Meeting in England; and a letter from Jordans Monthly Meeting, England, with which the memory of Penn is intimately associated, was read in part. Following this there was a poem, "The Meeting at Fallsington," by Sara G. Edgerton, read by her father, James Edgerton. This poem is printed in full on page 8. Two papers were then read, one by Jane Moon Snipes, entitled "The Founders and Founding of Falls Monthly Meeting," and one by John H. Wood, entitled "Quaker Imprints of Bucks County," which are reprinted in this number.

The audience was then treated to a very pleasing pageant-play prepared by Henry T. Moon, depicting certain events in Falls Meeting which occurred several years after its establishment. The pageant is too long for us to reprint, and, as a piece of literary fiction rather than a strict historical record, lies somewhat outside the scope of the BULLETIN. The following abstract and outline must suffice.

"PENNSBURY DAYS AND FALLS MEETING OF 1701"

PREFACE

The return of William Penn to England from his second trip to America was hastened by demands from the Crown. James Harrison, the steward of his Bucks County lands (and father-in-law of Phineas Pemberton), had recently died, and the question of a successor to care for Penn's interests in his absence was to be considered. John Satcher, long with Penn, had won Penn's confidence and seemed to be logical successor to James Harrison; and although not married at the time, he was very attentive to Hannah Penn's housekeeper, Mary Loftis.[1] Their approaching marriage was talked over with Penn; and while conflict arose over the arrangements for passing meeting, Penn piloted a course that finally won approval and they were married Eighth month 16, 1701, two weeks before Penn sailed for England.

[1] The family names of John Satcher and Mary Loftis are so spelled on the program of the pageant-play; in Jane Moon Snipes's paper, reprinted on page 14, they are spelled *Sotcher* and *Loftys*. Spelling varied in those days; but there is reason to believe that proper forms of the names are *Sotcher* and *Lofty*.

This was Penn's final departure from his much beloved "Pennsbury," his country estate near Fallsington, and from the colony, the scene of his Quaker experiment, as he never returned to Pennsylvania. The original minutes are copied in the entertainment, and original records are available for practically all the incidents portrayed.

Scene I. The Study at Pennsbury

Time: Late in Seventh month, 1701

During a few introductory lines, Anna, the maid, dusts the study, Hannah and Letitia Penn bring flowers for William Penn's desk, and Letitia arranges to go for a ride on her new bay horse. Then Penn explains to his wife that legal difficulties in London require his early return, and they discuss whom to leave in charge of Pennsbury. They note that John Satcher is very trustworthy, and otherwise satisfactory as a caretaker, though unmarried; and wonder whether his attentiveness to Mary Loftis, Hannah Penn's housekeeper, may indicate serious intentions on his part. John and Mary are called in; they admit that they are considering marriage with each other, and are grateful for the trust reposed in them when Penn asks them to take charge of Pennsbury. However, they foresee difficulty in getting married before Penn's departure, owing to the time required in the regular procedure of passing meeting, and to the fact that Mary Loftis has no letter from her mother, who is in England, expressly giving her consent to the marriage.

Penn expresses hope that a way may open to meet these difficulties; when William Yardley, the clerk of the Monthly Meeting, and his wife, are announced for a visit. William Yardley wishes to ask Penn to donate ground for a burying ground; but Penn feels that the Meeting should provide its own. He then explains his need of haste in returning to England, and his hope that the usual procedure of passing meeting might be shortened. William Yardley is not easy in his mind to transgress the discipline; but Penn points out that the spirit rather than the letter is the essential thing, and asks him to think it over.

Scene II. A Session of Falls Monthly Meeting

Time: Eighth month 1, 1701

Various Quaker worthies, including William Penn, arrive for meeting. When the business meeting begins, John Satcher and Mary Loftis announce their intentions of marriage with each other. Discussion ensues as to the desirability of making any exception to the requirements of the discipline, Penn explaining the respective situations of the young people at some length, and referring to his own desire to have the matter expedited. Friends speak on both sides, some seeing in Penn's request a repetition of the same

The marker of Falls Monthly Meeting, set up at the corner of the Meeting-house grounds

dictation by the civil government to the church which they had fled from in England, and others admitting that reasons for making exception to the discipline may well arise. The latter point of view finally prevails, and committees of men and of women Friends are appointed to inquire into their clearness, and report, not to the next regular monthly meeting, as that would come too late, but, at Penn's suggestion, to a special meeting to be held one week later.

Scene III. The Kitchen Garden at Pennsbury

Time: A week later

Mary is churning by the pump; John reports to her that the Meeting has found them clear and granted their request to proceed in marriage. Letitia and Anna, the maid of the first scene, appear; a small boy, the son of Penn's secretary, teases John and Mary. William Penn brings further information about the action of the Meeting; there is friendly and cordial discussion of plans.

Scene IV. The Front Garden at Pennsbury

Time: A week and a day later

John and Mary arrive on horseback, coming from their wedding; they read over the certificate, and comment on the signatures. William, Hannah, and Letitia Penn arrive, and congratulate them; William Penn gives them a large pewter platter. Letitia promises them a high chest of drawers that has recently been sent up from Philadelphia.

Following the pageant-play was the unveiling of the memorial tablet (see frontispiece, and illustration facing this page) by Charles F. Jenkins, President of Friends' Historical Association. Friends had been invited to bring box suppers; and after the unveiling of the tablet, most of the very large company settled down for a picnic supper on the meeting-house grounds. The formal program of the day was brought to a close at 7 P.M., when the antiques and relics of the collection exhibited in the hip-roofed schoolhouse began to melt away as their owners claimed them one by one and took them away. A thunder shower which came up in the evening probably caught many of the celebrants on the way home, but did not prevent a serene closing to a very satisfying celebration.

THE FOUNDING AND FOUNDERS OF FALLS MEETING

By Jane Moon Snipes [1]

This afternoon I wish to take you back two hundred and fifty years and try to picture this community as it was at the time, and before the coming, of the Quakers. Let us consider some of the landmarks and a few of the characters who lived here and established a meeting at the Falls on the Second of Third Month, 1683 —the day we now celebrate.

The Falls of the Delaware, or Sankikan, as the Indians called it, now only a rapid between the bridges connecting Morrisville and Trenton, was the outstanding landmark in this part of the wilderness.

Early historians tell us of a Dutch trading post here in 1624 which carried on a profitable trade with the Indians, and report that the Dutch held undisputed sway on the South River (the Delaware) until the coming of the Swedes. Later research has questioned this story; but we do know that in 1633 Thomas Yong, son of a London merchant, twice ascended the river up to the Falls and erected the coat of arms of England on a tree, taking the country into possession with the usual ceremonies. He says, " I enquired of this (Indian) king how far this river ranne up into the country and whether it were navigable or no. He told me it ranne a great way up and that I might goe with my ship until I came to a certaine place where the rockes ranne cleane acrosse the river and that there he thought I could not goe over with my great canoas (for so they call all vesselles that swimme upon the water)."

In 1638 the Swedes under the leadership of Peter Minuit came to make their settlement on these shores. They purchased in 1640, from the Indians, undoubtedly the Lenni Lenape, a strip of land along the west bank of the river from Cape Henlopen to Sankikan —the first purchase by Europeans from Indians in Bucks County. From that time on the Dutch and Swedes held joint occupancy along the river until both were driven out by the English.

[1] A paper read at Fallsington, Pennsylvania, Fifth month 20, 1933, at the meeting held in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Falls Monthly Meeting. See bibliography on page 25.

In 1655 Peter Luidstrom, a Swedish engineer, surveyed the river from its mouth to the Falls, and is thus quoted: "Along the west side of the river to the Island Minachkonk (Biles Island) and again down Sipaessinghs Land (that comprising Penns Manor) it is everywhere low country favorable for maize." Sipaessinghs Land was especially mentioned in the first deed to William Penn in 1682 for land in Bucks County; the price named is 10 guns and some black and white wampum.

The middle of that century marked the beginning of much travel to New York from various directions, and the crossing at the Falls became increasingly popular as the main overland route between the colonies north and south. The route was marked by a mere bridle path through the woods; but this path was none the less the King's Path.

Governor Andros of New York with his retinue traveled this path on his way to New Castle to attend Court in 1675, and purchased a strip of land for eight or nine miles on either side of the Falls, along the King's Path, and also established a ferry.

The first Friend mentioned was William Edmundson from Ireland, who was traveling in this country on a religious visit in 1678. He lost his way in coming from Shrewsbury, New Jersey, and was taken across the river near the Falls in a canoe by Indians and directed on his way to Upland, now Chester.

A quotation from the Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, a Labadist from Holland who passed this way in 1697, is descriptive. He writes: "We arrived at Falls of South River, about sundown, passing a creek where a new grist mill was erected by the Quakers who live hereabouts in great numbers. As it was still daylight and we had heard so much of the Falls of the South River, we went to look at them. We had supposed it was a place where water came tumbling down in great quantity. But these falls are nothing more than a place of about two English miles in length or not so much, where the river is full of stones, almost across it, which are not very large."

It was in 1678 that the first English settler, one John Woods, a husbandman, actually selected a site on the western bank of the river at the Falls, near Potato Creek, and named it Graystone. George Brown, Robert Lucas, Richard Ridgeway, and William

Biles, and some others, soon followed and occupied the river front for a considerable distance down the western bank from the Falls.

In the same year the Court ordered that " Every person should, as far as his land reaches, make good and passable ways from neighbor to neighbor, with bridges where it needs, to the end that neighbors on occasion may come together."

Immigration increased rapidly from this time on, so that the district of Falls, that portion of the township lying between Pennsbury and the river above Biles Island, had become a small settlement by 1680. It was also called Crewcorne, or Crookhorn, after the market town and parish of Crewkerne, in Somersetshire, England. Official papers speak of it as " ye new seated towne," and the first court of the county, called the " Court of Crewcorne at the Falls," was held here along the river. The first court house in the county was erected in the Borough of Morrisville.

When the townships were laid out the place for the name of this township was left blank on the map. Since no more appropriate than Falls appeared for the township, it has born that name to the present day.

These pioneers were men and women of courage and the religious conviction so greatly needed for the hardship and suffering that must have been theirs before they became firmly rooted in the new world. But we must remember that these hardships were doubtless sweet in comparison to the persecution they had suffered in the homeland.

Many came first to Burlington, but, attracted by Sipaessinghs Land, decided to cast their lot on this side of the river. They continued to be members of Burlington Monthly Meeting until some time later.

Richard Ridgeway, probably the first tailor in the country, was one of the earliest to come. He settled along the river in 1679 where he lived until 1690, when he went to West Jersey.

Robert Lucas and William Biles were also of this number, and at the session of the first court held at Upland under Penn's jurisdiction in 1681 they were both Justices. Moreover, they represented Bucks several times at Assemblies held at Upland.

Biles was a fearless leader of the Popular or Democratic Party in the Assembly. His altercation with Lieutenant Governor Evans

in 1705 shows lively spirit. He was accused of calling Evans a boy and "not fit to be our Governor" saying "We'll kick him out." Though he denied the charge, Evans sued him for damages and demanded that he be expelled from the Assemblly. Willliam Penn sided against Biles. Finally the yearly Meeting persuaded Biles to acknowledge his fault and Evans to forego collection of damages and to desist from further proceedings . This was agreed upon though with this final thrust from the Governor: "He very much influences that debauched county of Bucks in which there is now scarce any one man of worth left."

William Biles's house, probably the second he built, is still standing about two miles below Morrisville along the river, and is the historic birthplace of this meeting.

It was probably on the door of his house that Phineas Pemberton in 1683 posted a notice of the establishment of the weekly post in response to William Penn's order to "carefully publish this information" on the meeting-house doors and other public places.

George Brown and his wife, Mercy, came from Leicester, England, in 1679. They came on the ship together and were landed at New Castle. Here they were married and then proceeded to the Falls, where they built a shelter roofed with Indian grass over a framework of saplings and built against a cave dug near the river bank. Here they lived their first winter in America. George Brown was justice of the peace in 1680. He was not a Friend, but his son Samuel became one through convincement and was prominent in the affairs of this meeting.

These first settlers had acquired their tracts from Governor Andros, representative of the Duke of York, and were under his jurisdiction until Lieutenant Governor Markham arrived in 1681, with credentials from William Penn, and announced to the settlers the grant of Pennsylvania. Apparently the change in government made but little ripple in their lives.

They had held meetings for worship in their different homes since 1680 so it is not surprising to find them asking permission of Burlington Friends to establish a monthly meeting of their own. The opening minute of this new meeting reads: "At a meeting at William Biles house on the Second day of the Third

Month, 1683, then held to wait upon the Lord for his wisdom to hear what should be offered in order to inspect into the affairs of the Church. And we whose names are as follows, being then present, thought it fit and necessary that a Monthly Meeting should be set up both of men and women Friends for that purpose. The Friends present: William Yardley, James Harrison, Phineas Pembreton, William Biles, William Dark, Lyonel Brittain, William Beaks." This was the first and only religious organization in the township for many years. Women Friends met together simultaneously with the men and the items of business closely paralleled those of men's meeting, giving consent to marriage, assisting those in need and admonishing the froward.

The first item of business to come before the new meeting was the proposed intention of marriage of Samuel Dark and Anna Knight, but since Samuel Dark's certificate from his home meeting in England had not then reached America " the Meeting desired them to wait in patience until Friends were satisfied in it." Samuel and Anna, however, were not disposed to " wait in patience," and accomplished their marriage outside the meeting. Their conduct was felt to be disorderly and contrary to " the truth which they make pro-fession of," and they were asked to " bring forth papers of condemnation of their actions " which they subsequently did.

Richard Hough and Margery Clowes, who also declared their intentions of marriage at that time, were the first to be married within the new meeting. Richard Hough was one of the most prominent figures in the county and was active in the Meeting for many years. In politics, he differed with his brother-in-law, William Biles, Hough adhering strongly to the Proprietary Party under James Logan's leadership. He met an untimely death by drowning in the Delaware while on his way to Philadelphia. Penn wrote of him: " I lament the loss of honest Richard Hough. Such men must needs be wanted where selfishness and forgetfulness of God's mercies so much abound."

The meeting authorized a burying ground " at the Point " on land given for the purpose by Phineas Pemberton. This was the first Friends' burying ground in the county. A part of it, containing the graves of the Pemberton family, is still there, a small plot in

a field along the Delaware. It has been under the care of this meeting from the beginning, a fund provided by Phineas Pemberton for its maintenance being still used for that purpose. Some years ago the late Henry Pemberton of Philadelphia restored the wall surrounding it and placed a permanent marker in that plot.

Phineas Pemberton, a grocer from Bolton, England, and by far the most prominent of the early settlers in the county, arrived on the ship " Submission " with his family and father Ralph, aged 72, at almost the same time as William Penn. With him came James and Anne Harrison, parents of Phebe Pemberton, also from Bolton, and their mother, Agnes Harrison, aged 81.

Phineas Pemberton selected a site below the Falls and built a house of logs which he called " Grove Place." He is said to have lived in good style and had a " sideboard " in his house. He was a leader in colonial affairs, and Logan called him " That pillar of Bucks County." He held many offices including that of Keeper of Rolls,[1] and was clerk of all courts until his death.

" The records kept by him are the earliest of the county. They were written wholly by his hand and in them he has left a memorial to himself that will not be lost as long as the history of the Commonwealth he helped to establish, shall be read." In 1687 he built a more comfortable house, which he later moved to another location about five miles further inland. This second home named after Bolton in England, has remained in the family ever since. It is now in the possession of his direct descendant, Effingham B. Morris, of Philadelphia.

The affairs of this meeting lay close to his heart from the day of its setting up until his death in 1702 at the early age of 52. Penn wrote to Logan, " Poor Phineas Pemberton is a dying man and was not at election though he crept to Meeting yesterday. I am grieved at it for he has not his fellow and without him this is a poor country indeed."

James Harrison, the friend and confident of Penn while still in England, was his agent at Pennsbury for a number of years. Having declined Penn's appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court he became one of three Provincial judges in 1685, " who

[1] See reprint of his commission as keeper of the rolls on page 5 of this issue.

made their circuit in a boat rowed by a boatman paid by the Province."

William Yardley came to these parts in 1682. He had the distinction of acquiring his tract just sixteen days after the territory was granted to Penn by Charles the Second. It was located on the present site of Yardley and was called "Prospect Farm." A part of it is still held in the Yardley family. At an early age William Yardley became a minister of influence and was the first clerk of this meeting.

Thomas Janney, an eminent minister, settled near Yardley in 1683, and conveyed to the meeting the Slate Pit Hill burying ground located on the edge of the town.

Friends were careful to look after the material as well as spiritual needs of their members. A cow and calf were purchased for one Friend, but when another asked for a horse the meeting felt that "the man being a stranger, the Meeting does agree to take further time to consider of it." Later he received the horse and a day's plowing besides. If a widow married the meeting took care that the rights of her children by the first marriage were well protected before giving consent to her marriage. Neglect of attendance at midweek meeting was prevalent then as now, and it was ordered that "care be taken that such Friends who are remiss in the observing of them be spoke with, admonished, and stirred up to the frequenting of them." Friends were encouraged to avoid strong drink at the time of marriages and burials, and individuals were dealt with both in meeting and court for selling "spirits" to the Indians without license.

The meeting in those early days often acted as court and jury and settled many differences efficiently and wisely, "that Truth might be cleared." William Yardley complained that his neighbor, Eleanor Pownall, refused to set her fence on their line surveyed according to government grants. Much tender advice from the committee not availing to influence Eleanor, "William Yardley was left at liberty to place his fence in the line laid out by the Surveyor." When Lyonel Brittain and his wife quarreled and "gave out railing words," a committee spoke to them to condemn their so doing. Even in those days Friends were actively concerned that love and unity should be preserved.

In 1689 definite steps were taken to have a central meeting place. The minute reads: "It is with unanimous consent concluded that a meeting house in a convenient place from the riverside would be very serviceable." A committee, Thomas Janney, Richard Hough, William Biles, John Rowland, Edmund Lovett and Phineas Pemberton, were appointed to "look out a convenient place of land." The site was chosen at a central location between Randal Blackshaw's and Samuel Burges's land, where the great Southampton Road and other roads converged. Six acres of land were conveyed by Samuel Burges. When some years later an inaccuracy was discovered in the deed, more land was given with the stipulation that a quit rent of one grain of Indian corn should be paid annually when lawfully demanded. The meeting house, twenty by twenty-five feet in size, was built of timber at a cost of 41 pounds, the carpenters having provided nails and hauled the timber. It had a gallery with banister and chimney. After many delays in building it was ready for the first meeting in Seventh month, 1690. This was the first of five houses used for meeting on these grounds. It was in this building that William Penn attended meeting, and the marriage of John and Mary Sotcher was held therein. The second house was built in 1728, while the third structure was presumably the hip-roofed house across the way, now occupied by the Friends School. This is thought to have been the temporary meeting place while the fourth was being built on the hill in 1789. The stucco house was built in 1841.

The burying ground across the road was laid out in 1692 and a stable for horses soon appeared. In 1701 a horsing block and well were added. A committee interviewed Samuel Burges about cleaning the meeting house and making fires on cold days. This he agreed to do for twenty shillings per annum, but two years later William Biles reports "he hath spoke with Samuel Burges who refuses to make fires and clean the meeting house any longer except he can have near four pounds per annum." The meeting did not agree to this large increase in salary, and the position passed into other hands.

Samuel Burges and his wife Ellin lived a quarter of a mile below Fallsington. In 1685 they purchased 200 acres of land from John Rowland who bought it from William Penn's agents for one

silver shilling per acre. A part of this is still owned by their descendants. They were the ancestors of a number of noted people, among them ex-President Hoover and our neighbor and former United States Senator, Joseph R. Grundy. Concerning Ellin Burges, I have found the following minute of 1731: "Ellin Burges being very antient and can't go to Meeting, desired that an evening meeting might be held at her house, therefore agreed that one be held once in two weeks so long as Friends shall see occasion, to begin at four o'clock."

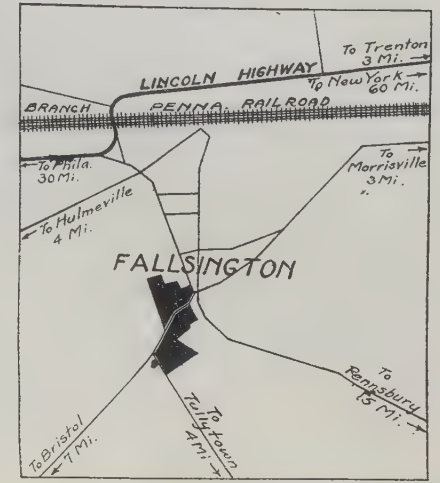
When Pennsbury Manor was laid out some grants of the Duke of York interfered with its limits and the owner consented to the straightening of the lines. In consideration, William Penn set aside 120 acres of "common land" for the use of the township near the center. It was located next beyond the Burges tract. When final sale was made by act of Legislature in 1684 the proceeds were ordered applied to a common school fund which yielded about $300 annually.

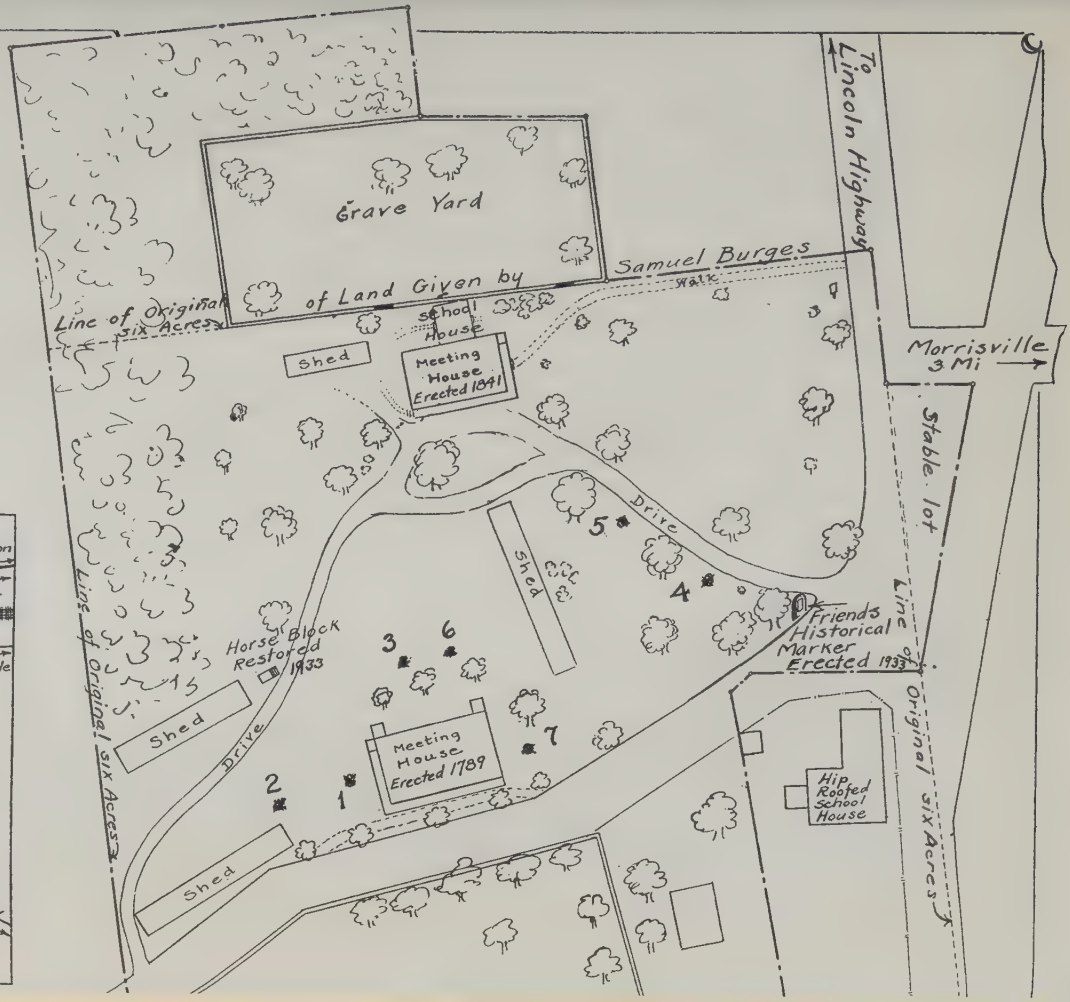
In 1733 Friends asked permission to repair the old meeting house for a schoolhouse. This was granted and a school for the benefit of poor children was established. The last of four successive schoolhouses on this property, built in 1801, is attached to this meeting house. The oldest inhabitants tell us that even after the public-school system came into the township in 1836, this continued to be the only school in this immediate neighborhood for a number of years. With the exception of a few years there has been a Friends' school here for 200 years.

The story of the heroism and hardships endured by the colonial women of Bucks County is a chapter yet unwritten. When it is done may they receive their richly deserved homage. The women must needs prepare the deer, turkey, and rabbit, to be had for the shooting, and if, as happened in one family, their one gun became disabled, the wife too went forth, and while her husband took deliberate aim, she applied the torch to the priming. For the deer, besides providing meat for the skillet, supplied a skin, which, tanned and dried, was stitched into trousers, shirts and moccasins. In that day they wore buckskin in Bucks County. Later when the crop of flax was gathered, her busy spinning wheel provided drugget, linsey-woolsey, and worsted for clothing. When they

Trees Commemorative Of Meetings

1 Middletown Est'd 1683
2 Bristol Est'd 1707
3 Buckingham Est'd 1720
4 Wrightstown Est'd 1724
5 Makefield Est'd 1750
6 Solebury Est'd 1806
7 Newtown Est'd 1815





Grave Yard
Line of Original Six Acres
To Pennsbury 5 Mi.
To Bristol 1 Mi.
Fence
Grave Yard
Fence
Meadows and Woodland
To Tullytown 4 Mi.
Plan of Properties of Falls Meetings of Friends
Fallsington Bucks County Pa.
Drawn by C. H. Hazard
5-19-1933
Scale in feet
0 10 20 30 40 50 75 100 150 200
5 15 25 35 45

felt the need of a cow she accompanied her husband on the long journey to New Castle. When they moved, the hominy block, hollowed out of a tree stump, was a precious possession not left behind. But as the years passed there was more grain, for the land was fertile, and crops of tall rye and wheat waved in the wind. A mill was built by a large rock just west of the village and to it many of the members brought their sacks of wheat and hominy on horseback, leaving them there to be ground while they went on to meeting. Some of the women came on foot from Buckingham, twenty miles away, leading their little children by the hand, carrying them over the swollen streams. One of my faraway grandmothers who lived above Yardley preferred walking to meeting at an advanced age.

In marked contrast to this picture of the pioneer was the life at Pennsbury, where William Penn had his country seat of 8000 acres. A house suitable for the Governor's mansion was biult on a slight elevation, with outbuildings and a terraced garden sloping down to the river. The furnishings were luxurious for that time —satin and camlet curtains. Penn gave much attention during his first visit to America to the preparation of what he then hoped would be his permanent home, where he might pursue his favorite occupation of agriculture and pass his closing years in the midst of beautiful and peaceful surroundings. Here was generous hospitality offered to all who sought the counsel or friendship of the beloved proprietor. Hannah Penn, too, was loved by the colonists, but when the novelty of the wilderness had worn away, she and her daughter Laetitia, familiarly known as " Tishe," had no cordial love for the country of their adoption, nor did they grieve when matters of business required them to return to England. The rustic wilderness life was irksome to the light-hearted Tishe, and the tedious ride to meeting in the calashe, when the roads were too muddy for the heavy coach, may have been taken with a rebellious spirit. Perchance when the sermon seemed over long her flirtatious eyes wandered across the aisle to cheer the heart of some shy admirer, for we learn she had many.

Nancy Lloyd gives this vivid picture of entertainment at Pennsbury, when the Governor had bidden Indians to a banquet, all to be in readiness for the third day. " There be turkeys to pluck

and vegetables of many sorts to prepare; venison and hams and mutton, also pastries of our own fruits. Hannah Penn will have no stint; and truly when one has seen an Indian eat, one knows that a hundred turkeys are not too many to provide when a party of them has been bidden. We hope no storm or thunder gust shall mar its success."

Perhaps it was this same banquet that John Richardson, an English Friend, describes in his Journal. He says: "I stayed two or three days; part of the time I spent in seeing William Penn and many of the Indians in Counsel and Consultation, all of which was done in much calmness of temper and in an amicable way." And when they had ended, William Penn gave them match coats and some other things with some brandy or rum, or both, and metheglin (a beverage made from honey), after which they went out of the house into an open place not far from it to perform their cantico, or worship.

The minutes make no mention of Penn's attendance at meeting nor of his taking part in its affairs, except at the time of his departure in 1701. He then asked for an irregular procedure in the accomplishment of the marriage of John Sotcher and Mary Loftys,[1] whom he wished to leave at Pennsbury as caretakers.

The manor house continued to be the scene of hospitality after Penn left the country, as witnessed by the visit in 1702 of Lord Cornbury, then Governor of New York, a cousin of Queen Anne. Logan sent up wine and "what could be got" from Philadelphia and hastened thither to receive the distinguished guest. He writes "With Mary's diligence (Mary Loftys Sotcher) and all our care we got a really handsome country entertainment which, though much inferior to those of Philadelphia for cost, yet for decency and good order gave no less satisfaction." Lord Cornbury and his wife made a second visit to Pennsbury two years later as the guests of William Penn, Junior.

John and Mary Sotcher, ancestors of many here, took charge of Pennsbury for many years and were active and valuable members of this meeting. Their daughter Mary became the third wife of Joseph Kirkbride, who was employed at Pennsbury for a time. He is said to have run away from his master in England and started for the new world with a little wallet of clothing and a

[1] See note on page 12.

flail. He was an influential minister among Friends, and in later years, when he became wealthy, bought a large tract of land between the Falls and Yardley.

The names of many other pioneer families might be mentioned; among them were James and Joan Burges Moon, who lived on a tract adjoining that of their brother Samuel Burges. They were the progenitors of all the Moons in this locality. Another pioneer family was that of William and Pleasant Mead Satterthwaite, who settled here in 1735 and whose descendants are numerous in the county today.

From these sketches of our founders we catch a glimpse of their personalities and we may be justly proud that through them this meeting and Bucks County came largely into prominence in the formative years of the colony. It is said that for a number of years the men from Falls controlled the county and much county business was transacted here after meetings. They were qualified for leadership naturally as well as through the necessity of assuming governmental duties immediately on their arrival. Their judgments were tempered by their christian spirit, which made them well fitted to deal wisely with the perplexing problems incident to the founding of a colony.

Could these old oaks which we so dearly love speak with audible voices, they could tell you much more than I of the scenes that have occurred here since William Penn hitched his horse to one of them. For two centuries and a half they have witnessed the comings and goings of our forbears and have watched one generation of children after another grow to maturity and fill the places of their parents. How well we remember the faces of those who occupied these facing seats when we were children! For these memories we are truly grateful, as well as for the records of the past which tell us that ours has been indeed a goodly heritage.

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QUAKER IMPRINTS OF BUCKS COUNTY

By John H. Wood [1]

We gather here today to refresh our knowledge and to renew our hope and our faith from the history of the early Friends in Bucks County. They were fearless men and women who had sufficient faith to meet the dangers and hardships of a new land and to build in it a lasting civilization. Their faith, directed by William Penn, was based on the principles laid down by George Fox.

[1] A paper read at Fallsington, Pennsylvania, Fifth month 20, 1933, at the meeting held in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of Falls meeting: reprinted with slight abridgment.

The Quaker migration to America was but one of several westward movements. We are calling to memory today the vigorous characters who, devoted to the teachings of Fox and inspired by Penn's glowing faith in his Holy Experiment, hewed out for themselves and their children a home in the wilderness.

Some have said that the first (and unsuccessful) settlement of Europeans in what is now Bucks County was attempted between 1624 and 1627 by the Dutch West Indies Company on a small island just below the Falls. This tradition cannot be confirmed.

It was not until 1678 and 1679 that we find the first permanent settlers arriving to begin life in this neighborhood. These were Penn's people.

It is interesting at this point to recall that George Fox in the fall of 1672—ten years before the year we celebrate—traveled down the Delaware in his missionary journey from New York to the Friends in Maryland.

It is almost beyond our ability to picture this countryside as the first Friends found it. We must forget all we have and are accustomed to, and think of a virgin country. This was what our forefathers received: a land entirely new and untouched by white men, in which to demonstrate what the union of faith and works may accomplish. You will appreciate that theirs was not an easy task. At first they had only holes and caves in which to live. Their food was game and fish supplemented by such crops as were possible. Just the most meager and roughest existence was theirs. All communication was by boat, on horseback, or on foot along the Indian trails. The nearest mill grinding corn and wheat was that of David Rittenhouse on the Wissahickon—more than twenty miles away; and the nearest meeting house was at Burlington.

Under such conditions emerged Falls, the mother township. Within its borders at the " Falls of Delaware " was made the first permanent settlement. Here the banner of English civilization was first raised in Bucks. Here our great founder had his Pennsylvania home. For a time its history was the story of the settlement as found recorded in the interesting records of Falls Meeting. Many of the leading settlers were relied upon as the staunchest friends of William Penn. For some years the men of Falls controlled the affairs of the infant county. These men were among

the fathers and founders of the Commonwealth, and they have left their lasting impression upon our society and laws.

Bucks County was a Quaker settlement, and Pennsylvania a Quaker commonwealth. It was the policy of William Penn to purchase at once from the Indians such title as they felt they had to his lands. Following this idea, William Markham made the first purchase of what now is Bucks County, Seventh month 15, 1682—three and a half months before Penn's arrival. This payment comprised a little wampum, and a few blankets, guns, kettles, beads, and fish hooks. The tract consisted of the present townships of Bristol, Falls, Middletown, Lower Makefield, the greater part of Upper Makefield, Newtown, and a small portion of Wrightstown. In other words, all the territory between the Neshaminy and the Delaware, as high as Wrightstown and Upper Makefield, was embraced in it.

The next purchase was made by William Penn himself on Sixth month 23, 1683, and covered all the land lying between the Pennypack and the Neshaminy. This settlement was made with four Indian chiefs, and the deed was acknowledged in open court in Philadelphia.

The next treaty was probably made Eighth month 30, 1686, although no treaty or deed has ever been found. By this deed the Indians conveyed to Penn all the land above the upper line of the purchase of 1682, extending as far inland as a man could walk in a day and a half, to be bounded on the west by the Neshaminy and on the east by the Delaware. Shortly after this, the Indians became disturbed and uneasy and had many meetings with the Proprietaries in 1734 and 1735. These were concluded in Philadelphia in 1737 by settling the details of the Walking Purchase. We are generally familiar with this arrangement; Edward Marshall, James Yeats, and Solomon Jennings were employed to start at a point in Wrightstown and walk for a day and a half. From the end of that walk a line was to be drawn to the Delaware River. This ended the purchase of lands out of which Bucks County was determined. As the settlers came, and of necessity pushed more deeply into the forest, new townships were laid out, one following another: Falls, Makefield, Bristol, Bensalem, Middletown, Southampton, Warminister, Newtown, Wrightstown,

Buckingham, Solebury, Northampton, Hilltown, New Britain, Plumstead, Warwick, Warrington, Milford, Richland, and some others. These were named by chance—Falls from the Falls of the Delaware, Newtown because it was a new town, Middletown because it was midway between the upper inhabitants and those on the river; others were named in memory of places the settlers had left in England. In 1686 a jury was directed to meet at the Neshaminy Meeting House in Middletown to establish the lines of the township.

As each new settlement developed, a new community was formed to provide a center for the people immediately surrounding it. Such a center was necessary, as travel was so difficult that each group was compelled to establish, as rapidly as possible, all that was needed to care for its own community life.

The settlers quickly adjusted themselves to the rigors and hardships of the first rough struggle for life, and rapidly supplied the finer things contemplated by Penn.

When we recall that the first settlers were men and women of strong religious convictions who had left the homes of their birth to worship God in peace in the wilderness of the new world, we appreciate their early earnest efforts to establish religious meetings. First we find in the settlement such meetings being held in a Friend's home; then a meeting house was built. The first known organized meeting was held at the home of William Biles just below the Falls, Fifth month 2, 1683. This was the germ of the Falls Meeting. The first business was marriage—Samuel Darke to Ann Knight. The next item recorded is the assistance asked by Thomas Atkinson of Neshaminy to buy a cow and calf. The first Quarterly Meeting was held at the Biles home Fifth month 7, 1683. The first meeting house was finished Fifth month, 1692. Next to Falls in age is Middletown Meeting. Meetings were heid here in 1682, a monthly meeting in 1684, and the meeting house built in 1688, known, however, as Neshaminy Meeting. Wrightstown had its first meeting in 1686 and its meeting house built in 1721. Buckingham records show meetings first held in 1700 and the meeting house built in 1705; Bristol meeting, 1704, and meeting house in 1710; Plumstead meeting, 1727, and meeting house in 1729.

An old Roman maxim says, " The first step in civilization is to make roads." William Penn intended to have a liberal and uniform system of roads in this county, and in the original survey he made an allowance for them of six acres in every hundred. If the palm of one's hand is laid on the site of Philadelphia and the thumb and fingers extended, they will mark five of the great highways of the county; namely, the Bristol Turnpike, the Middle or Oxford Road, the York Road, Easton Road, and Bethlehem Road.

The earliest mention of a public road in this county was in 1677, when the King's Path, or highway, was laid out up the river to the Falls, through Bensalem, Bristol, and Falls to Morrisville. It started at Upland and held the general direction of the Bristol Turnpike.

At the first court, held at Philadelphia in 1683, the Grand Jury ordered that the King's Road from the Schuylkill to Neshaminy be marked out and made passable for horses and carts. This is the oldest road in the county laid out by law. Before 1695, the County line, the Street road, the Bristol road and others were on the plan.

The Durham road in olden times was one of the most important highways in the county. It was begun in 1693 when the Court in June session appointed a jury to lay out a road from Newtown to the Bristol Ferry. In 1732, the road was extended to the ford on the Tohickon, in 1745 to Durham Furnace, and ten years afterward to Easton.

The early Friends were alive to the demands of " melting charity," and from the first appearance on the Delaware, they cared for their own poor. Neither man nor woman within the folds of the meeting was allowed to want. As late as 1801 the Middletown Meeting contributed $447.85 to poor Friends in Great Britain and Ireland. Falls has always been liberal in supporting her poor, and has spent as much as $1,200 in a single year for this purpose. Falls was likewise among the earliest to provide for education; also as long ago as 1801 they raised $1,284.79 for road tax. In 1813 a public burying ground containing three quarters of an acre was purchased from David Brown at a cost of $118.80. It was placed in the care of the trustees of the free school and ordered divided into three parts: " for white inhabitants, for the

people of color, and the third part for strangers." The Falls library was established Eleventh month 26, 1800, and served the community with discreetly chosen books.

Other communities also felt the importance of providing similar means of caring for the welfare and education of the people. Newtown established the pioneer library in 1760. In 1755 a citizen of Buckingham left £40 by will toward starting and maintaining a free school at Buckingham under the care of the monthly meeting. Buckingham also started a library in 1795; Quakertown in 1795; Attleboro (now Langhorne) in 1802. In 1693, eleven years after Penn founded his colony, the Assembly made the teaching of every child to read and write an imperative duty. This bespeaks the industry and farsightedness of the Friends, when we realize that the Puritans had been in Massachusetts a quarter of a century before taking such action. The building of a schoolhouse closely followed the erection of the meeting house; here the children of the Friends, and frequently of the whole neighborhood, received the rudiments of education at the expense of the meeting. The first record of teaching was in Bensalem in 1679—three years before Penn's coming—when Duncan Williamson made a bargain with Edward Draufton to teach his children to read the Bible, the pay to be 200 guilders.

In 1756, Buckingham Friends bore testimony against war by advising all Friends not to be concerned in a military match either by attending in person or paying toward it.

The Friends were early active in the abolition of slavery. At Falls Meeting in 1730 a proposal was entertained from the Chester Meeting, and, after consideration, was referred to the various quarterly meetings. This argued whether Friends should not be prohibited from buying Negroes when imported, as they were restrained from importing them.

William Penn was careful to provide for the freedom of his slaves at his death. Jeremiah Langhorne, who died in Middletown in 1742, provided in his will for the liberation of his thirty or forty slaves. Careful record was kept of all slaves owned in the county.

Following the English custom, the settlers soon built inns or taverns along the important highways. Richard Ridgway, who

lived on the River in Falls, opposite Biles Island, was probably the first landlord—Eighth month 3, 1686.

The Friends soon became sensible to the growing evil of rum drinking and were the pioneers of temperance reform in the county. From the earliest time, they discouraged the sale of rum to the Indians. In 1683 it was reported to Falls Meeting that Ann Miller "doth sell strong liquor to English and Indians, suffering them to drink it until they are drunk." In 1687, William Biles, the only merchant along the Delaware who imported and sold rum, a leading Friend and several times elected to the Assembly, was called to account for selling rum to the Indians. Thomas Janney and William Yardley were appointed to wait on him.

Down to about 1724 the practice of the crier at public vendues, of giving rum to the bidders to encourage them, was customary. That year the Middletown Monthly Meeting declared against it. In 1737 the Yearly Meeting took notice of the growing evil from the common use of liquors, and tenderly cautioned Friends against it.

William Penn adopted the English system of courts in his frame of government. The first orphans' court was held at the home of Gilbert Wheeler just below the Falls, Third month 4, 1683. There were present on the bench William Penn, James Harrison, John Otter, William Yardley, William Biles, and Thomas Fitzwater, with Phineas Pemberton as clerk, an office which he held until his death. Pemberton was clerk of all the courts of the county. His commission [1] was dated at Pennsbury Third month 5, 1686, issued by Thomas Lloyd, and directed to "my loving friend, Phineas Pemberton, near Delaware Falls." The first business transacted was to make disposition of the estate of John Spencer, a settler lately deceased, and to bind out his children.

As time passed, the Friends became active in various enterprises. The first ferry was established across the Delaware just below Morrisville, the act authorizing this being dated 1718. Thomas Yardley, son of William Yardley, who received an original grant of five hundred acres, established Yardley's Ferry in 1722. Crowsdale Warner built the first pottery in 1758. Charles Smith, of Pineville, first burned lime in 1761. Thomas Smith

[1] See reprint, page 5 of this issue of the BULLETIN.

planted the seed that grew the first cider apple tree in America. Moses Bradshaw had a nail factory about a mile from Doylestown. Edmund Kinsey had a scythe and axe factory about two miles northwest of Lahaska, where he had a trip-hammer operated by water power. In 1783, Robert and Joseph Smith, Uriah Hughes, and Joseph Kinsey formed a company to make plows and mould boards at Smithtown. Joseph Smith introduced clover seed into Bucks County. In 1727, a stock company was formed to develop the Durham Iron Furnace. Among the incorporators were James Logan and Jeremiah Langhorne. The oldest insurance company in the county, and probably in the State, outside of Philadelphia, was organized in Falls township Third month 17, 1829; it was known as the Bucks County Contributionship.

When William Penn reached the county, Ninth month 1, 1682, he immediately called an election for members of council and assembly, to be held at the Falls upon the Delaware River. William Biles, Christopher Taylor, and James Harrison were elected to the council; William Yardley, Samuel Darke, Robert Lucas, Nicholas Walne, John Wood, John Clows, Thomas Fitzwater, Robert Hall, and James Boyden to the Assembly. These names are signed to the Great Charter.

Within a few miles of this spot a suitable home, Pennsbury, was established for William Penn. Grounds were mapped out on the banks of the Delaware, buildings set up, orchards planted, and everything done to provide fitting surroundings for the Proprietor and his family. The fact that Penn located his home here in the very center of the original colony rather hallows the ground. It clearly denotes that he not only believed in his plan for the creation of this colony, but that he actually came into its midst, sharing the difficulties and casting his lot with all of those who were faithful workers in the experiment.

While the townships, as originally formed, later were modified, and some, or parts of some, became joined with adjacent counties, the present Bucks County largely comprises the original territory settled by the Quakers who had been given grants of land by William Penn. Likewise, the present boundaries of Penn's holy experiment, Pennsylvania, have been changed; but the provisions of the Great Charter, establishing full religious liberty, and plan-

ning for fair dealing and full recognition of the principles of peace, have continually been found not only workable, but vitally necessary.

The union of faith and works clearly demonstrated from the beginning all for which Penn dreamed and hoped. The structure of government has stood the test of time. The character of the people embodied strong and lasting qualities, sufficient to guide and counsel through nearly a century, and then to become factors in drafting the constitution under which our present government has functioned.

Thus we carry through two centuries and a half threads used to weave the fabric of our nation. The threads have been spun from the pure virgin elements of these fair lands. They include the original fundamental ideas of the founder, William Penn, coming directly from George Fox. Into them the spinners have woven the constituent parts of their own characters: great faith and fortitude, joy and sorrow, success and defeat. The result is a fabric that will endure.

This is our inheritance! But what are we doing with it; to what uses and purposes are we allowing it to be put; what care are we giving it; do we keep it intact and add to it?

Gathered to commemorate the efforts of our ancestors 250 years ago, we must not limit ourselves to mere words. Let us do real acts of service and love for our fellow men, in memory of those who created the liberties we enjoy. We can heap words of praise on the acts and deeds of those early men and women; we can build monuments to mark their graves and memories; but long before another 250 years pass by, such words and monuments will fade away. Should we not restate clearly and firmly to ourselves the principles of Christian life, so vividly pictured by George Fox, so practically embodied by William Penn in his Great Charter, and so devotedly lived by our forefathers?

We must account for our stewardship. We must pursue the pathway of truth, dominated by love. We must lead lives uniting faith and works, that the way marked by our Bucks County ancestors may never grow dim, but continue to be the way of life—our guide posts added to theirs!

PRUDENCE CRANDALL AND THE CANTERBURY EXPERIMENT

By Alfred Thurston Child, Jr.

Exactly one hundred years ago a slight young schoolmistress named Prudence Crandall faced a delegation of angry neighbors and stoutly refused to close a school which she had opened for Negro girls. This decision—bravely made and still more bravely maintained—cost her dear. Friends turned against her. Her pupils were insulted and intimidated. An economic boycott was directed against her school. And finally, a deliberate attempt was made to destroy the school. The courage and ingenuity with which she met each difficulty won for her the sympathy of hundreds of men and women throughout the United States and England—a sympathy which we feel again today as we live over with her the events of those trying, troubled months.

On December 19, 1799, two young Friends, Pardon Crandall and Esther Carpenter, who were to become the parents of Prudence Crandall, stood up before the meeting at Hopkinton,[1] Rhode Island, and repeated with dignity the simple formula which for over two hundred years has united Friends in marriage.[2]

Pardon Crandall was a member of an old and distinguished New England family. In 1651, a certain John Crandall was arrested at Boston for "witnessing [to] the truth of baptising believers only."[3] A year later he was one of the founders of the colony of Westerly, Rhode Island. And from him sprang a long line of descendants, many of whom filled positions of high responsibility.[4]

The Carpenters were originally a Massachusetts family who for over a century had been active in the public life of the little village

[1] Hopkinton is situated about thirty-five miles southwest of Providence. Originally a part of Westerly, it was incorporated as a separate township in 1757. The governor of the Colony of Rhode Island at that time was Stephen Hopkins, and it was from him that the town takes its name. In 1830 the population numbered 1,777. In 1930 this number had increased to 2,823. See Thomas W. Bicknell, *The History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations,* New York 1920, vol. iii, and John Hayward, *The New England Gazetteer,* Boston 1839.

[2] James N. Arnold, *Vital Record of Rhode Island,* Providence, R. I., 1894, vol. v, Hopkinton, p. 13.

[3] *The Narragansett Historical Register,* Hamilton, R. I., vol. v (1886). p. 309.

[4] *Ibid.,* ii (1883), p. 35.

of Rehoboth.[5] Their common ancestor was a William Carpenter, one of the original proprietors of the village, who is supposed to have been a close friend and relative by marriage of Governor Bradford of Plymouth.[6]

One of William Carpenter's descendants was given the name of Hezekiah. Hezekiah Carpenter was born and brought up at Rehoboth, but left there as a young man to find better opportunities to ply his combined trade of carpenter and farmer.[7] He must have been an industrious, efficient, and thrifty workman for by 1778 (*circa*) he had saved sufficient money to buy up a large tract of land near Hopkinton, Rhode Island. Here he established a milling center known as Carpenter's Mills or the Middle Iron Works.[8]

About the time he settled in Hopkinton he chose as his third wife Prudence Johnson and by her had two children. One of these was a girl who was given the name of Esther,[9] later the mother of Prudence Crandall.

Hezekiah's position as landed proprietor enabled him to give his daughter and her husband a substantial start in life. This "start" consisted of a generous share of his original grant of land, which he presented to them as a wedding gift.[10]

On this land Pardon erected a low, rambling house, and within a year of the wedding it was completed. Here the young couple were to spend the first eleven years of their married life,[11] and here were to be born three of their four children: Hezekiah and Prudence—named no doubt after their maternal grandparents—and Reuben.[12]

Little is known about the youth of the daughter, Prudence, except that she was born on September 3, 1803,[12] that as a young girl

[5] Rehoboth is a pleasant little village about ten miles east of Providence.
[6] Amos Carpenter, *A Genealogical History of the Rehoboth Branch of the Carpenter Family in America,* Amherst 1898, pp. 38–39.
[7] *Ibid.,* p. 124.
[8] S. S. Griswold, *A History of Hopkinton, R. I.,* Hope Valley, R. I., 1876, p. 58.
[9] Carpenter, *op. cit.,* pp. 124, 239.
[10] Elisha Stillman, *Prudence Crandall and Her Work,* p. 22, in *Three Papers Read Before the Westerly Historical Society,* Westerly, R. I., 1915.
[11] This house was still standing in 1913. The part of Hopkinton in which it was built is now called Hope Valley and is a small village about three miles north of Hopkinton. See Stillman, *op. cit.,* p. 22 and Griswold, *op. cit.,* p. 58.
[12] Arnold, *op. cit.,* vol. v, Hopkinton, p. 37.

Prudence Crandall

From an oil painting made in 1838 by F. Alexander, now in the Library of Cornell University. Reproduced, by permission, from The Century Magazine of September, 1885.

she taught successfully at Plainfield, Conn.,[13] and that for four years she attended the Friends' School at Providence,[14] as is shown by the school records.

In 1809 Hezekiah Carpenter died [15] and the following year Pardon sold the property at Hopkinton.[16] By 1813 he had settled his family on a farm at Canterbury, Connecticut for it was during this year and at this place that his second daughter and youngest child, Hannah Almira, was born.[17]

In those days Canterbury [18] was a quiet, sprawling little town of low, round-shouldered hills covered with chestnut and oak trees [19] and of broad, pleasant valleys whose soil was "scarcely inferior to any in New England." [20]

Prosperity had come to the village simultaneously with the birth of the new United States. Substantial men from the coast had drifted inland and either settled on the fertile, outlying farms or purchased homes in the villages. For many years crops were abundant. Trade flourished and stores were opened in different parts of the town.[21]

Scattered throughout the village were little local manufactories. Here woolen and cotton goods, hats, leather, grain, axes, carriages, and coffins were produced and sold.[22] A certain Dr. Dyer carried on a lively trade in horses and cattle with the West Indies,[21]

[13] Samuel J. May, *Some Recollections of Our Antislavery Conflict,* Boston 1869, p. 40.

[14] Since 1904 called the Moses Brown School. According to the school records, Miss Crandall attended the school 1825–26, and 1827–30. At that time the Friends' School gave advanced courses in certain subjects, and such was the excellence of the instruction that those who finished these courses "easily entered the Junior class at the university." Letter to A. T. C. from the registrar.

[15] Carpenter, *op. cit.,* p. 124.

[16] Griswold, *op. cit.,* p. 58.

[17] Arnold, *op. cit.,* vol. vii, Narragansett Friends' Record: Marriages, p. 145.

[18] Canterbury is located in Windham County, some forty miles southeast of Hartford. Settlers arrived as early as 1690; in 1830 the population numbered 1,881. A century later it had shrunk to 942. Canterbury is only six miles from Brooklyn, Conn. Brooklyn was at one time the home of General Israel Putnam, and in the 1830's was the county seat of Windham County. See Ellen Larned, *History of Windham County,* Worcester 1880.

[19] John C. Pease and John M. Niles, *A Gazetteer of the United States of Connecticut and Rhode Island,* Hartford 1819, pp. 209–210.

[20] Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New York,* New Haven 1821–22, vol. iii, p. 134.

[21] Larned, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, pp. 306–310.

[22] *Ibid.,* vol. ii, p. 504.

and every spring the river teemed with shad which were caught and prepared for market.[23]

A network of smooth, hard turnpikes connected the village with the outside world, and over these spun the daily stagecoaches with their leathern sacks of mail and their tired, shaken passengers.[21]

Gradually wealth accumulated. An era of comfort and good living began. Abel Brewster opened a jewelry store.[21] And a clever master builder named Dyer supplied the wealthier citizens with solid, substantial homes whose rectangular outlines were softened and beautified by classic pilasters and architraves, delicate fanlights, and graceful, triple-arched Palladian windows.[24] Front yards were enclosed by neat, white picket fences, through whose palings currant gooseberry, and raspberry bushes poked their inquisitive branches. Elm trees and fruit trees shaded front yards, and doorways were almost hidden under luxurious trumpet vines.[25]

Life in the village centered about the green. At one end, two of the turnpikes crossed at right angles.[23] At the other stood the white, box-bodied, steeple-tipped church.[23] Diagonally across from it and close to the intersection of the two pikes, Elisha Paine had built a comfortable two-story house. Next door to him lived Arthur T. Judson, the village's most promising lawyer. On the opposite side of the street stood the home of Dr. Andrew Harris with its strange, new-fangled conservatory. And at irregular intervals along the main streets were strung the homes of Squire Daniel Frost (the temperance leader), Rufus Adams, William Kinne, and Samuel Hough.[21]

Stimulated by these gentlemen, a lively organic community spirit had developed. A fund of $800 was subscribed for the purchase of an "elegant social library."[23] A temperance society was formed that soon had a larger enrollment than any similar organization in Windham County.[26] And in 1831, thanks to the energies of a new minister, the village experienced a "spiritual renewing" which increased the membership of the Congregational Society by forty-six members.[27]

[23] Pease and Niles, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–210.
[24] *White Pine Monographs,* New York, vol. ix (1923), No. 6, p. 14.
[25] Calvin W. Philleo, *Twice Married,* New York 1855, chap. i.
[26] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 484–490.
[27] *Historical Notes of the First Congregational Church in Canterbury* (anonymous pamphlet published at Northampton, Mass., 1853), pp. 8, 27–28.

The Village of Canterbury from the South. Reproduced from the frontispiece of an anonymous pamphlet, Statement of Facts Respecting the School for Colored Females, Brooklyn, Conn., 1833.

House in Hope Valley, R. I., where Prudence Crandall was born. Reproduced from Three Papers Read before the Westerly [R. I.] Historical Association, p. 21.

One thing, however, was lacking: a genteel female seminary for the young ladies of the village.[21]

It was in response to this need that early in 1831 a group of the more substantial citizens arranged with Miss Prudence Crandall to take over the Elisha Paine house and to open the "Canterbury Female Boarding School." Money was advanced to enable her to undertake the enterprise, and the gentlemen agreed to act as sponsors for the school and to serve as a Board of Visitors.[28]

The school opened its doors early in November, 1831, and for a year everyone was completely satisfied. Miss Prudence was delighted to have gained the support of such a fine clientele; and her patrons congratulated themselves in having on Canterbury Green a school for their daughters which was conducted by a mistress of such marked ability and of such sterling character.[28]

But Miss Crandall had chosen an unfortunate time to open her school. It was the period of the troubled thirties. Strange new ideas were springing up like mushrooms. Temperance leaders were scouring the country with pledges. A certain ex-minister of Boston was shaking the Unitarian dust of that city from his feet as he retreated to the philosophical freedom of Concord. Bronson Alcott was beginning to propound those airy theories which even he could not define. And Frances Wright was shocking both sexes with her revolutionary ideas on women's rights. Most disconcerting of all, however, was the reappearance of the slavery question.

In 1830 the major champion of the Negro was the American Colonization Society. Founded in 1816, its roster of officers and charter members read like a national honor roll, and included such famous names as Henry Clay, Frances Scott Key, William H. Crawford, General Andrew Jackson, and John Randoph of Roanoke.[29] Its purpose was the promotion of "a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the Free People of Colour residing in our country, in Africa or such place as Congress shall deem most expedient."[30] To accomplish this purpose a committee was appointed to memorialize Congress, and plans were made to establish

[28] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 491; May, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
[29] Early Lee Fox, *The American Colonization Society*, p. 51, in *Johns Hopkins Studies*, Baltimore, vol. xxxvii (1919).
[30] *Origin, Constitution, and Proceedings of the American Colonization Society*, MS., vol. i, pp. 4–9. Quoted in Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

branch organizations in the more important towns of the various States. These branch organizations were chiefly intended to aid in the work of raising funds.

In Connecticut, where the State laws were generally considered to be especially favorable to the Negroes, the colonization idea was slow to take root. The State auxiliary society formed in 1820 soon lapsed for want of interest on the part of its members, and it was not until 1827 that a sturdy branch organization was started.[31] Once firmly planted, however, the seed produced a vigorous and hardy stalk. In 1829 the annual meeting of the State society authorized a committee to organize county societies,[32] and a year later this committee proudly reported the formation of one such group, the Windham County Colonization Society.[33] Canterbury was in Windham County.

Then suddenly out of the blue appeared the upstart New England Antislavery Society. In striking contrast to the national prominence of the founders of the older organization was the complete obscurity of this new group of agitators, " not more than one or two of whom could have put a hundred dollars into the treasury without bankrupting themselves." [34] Yet these penniless enthusiasts has the courage to throw down the gauntlet to the Colonization Society, to proclaim that the Society's scheme of transportation was nothing but a clever scheme to rid this country of freed Negroes in order to make it safe for slavery,[35] and to insist that immediate and unconditional emancipation was the only solution for the colored people.[34]

Still another bone of contention between the two groups was the question of colored education. The large majority of colonizationalists regarded the Negro as unfit for intellectual training and improvement,[36] whereas the abolitionists took the exactly opposite point of view.

When a wealthy New York philanthropist and abolitionist tried to establish a school for colored boys at New Haven, the members of the local Colonization Society combined with town officials

[31] *African Repository,* Washington, vol. vi (1831), p. 106.
[32] *Ibid.,* vol. v (1830), p. 93.
[33] *Ibid.,* vol. vi (1831), p. 107.
[34] Oliver Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times,* Boston 1881, p. 86.
[35] Lewis Tappan, *Life of Arthur Tappan,* New York 1780, p. 129.
[36] *African Repository,* vol. vii (1832), p. 196.

against him and the school was not allowed to open.[37] And later when the trustees of Noyes Academy at Canaan, New Hampshire, offered their building to the sponsor of the Negro school, several hundred angry men and a hundred yoke of oxen dragged the building from its foundation and dumped it into a near-by lot.[38]

The Friends have always been vigorous opponents of slavery. Anthony Benezet, John Woolman, Lucretia Mott, and the poet Whittier are only a few of the many who constantly preached and practised the equality and brotherhood of man.

This Friendly principle of universal brotherhood must have been thoroughly drilled into the Crandall family. For of the four children, three were "serviceable to the cause of Abolition,"[39] and two underwent hardship and suffering for their zeal.[40]

It was only natural therefore that when a copy of the *Liberator* fell into Miss Crandall's hands it should find in her a sympathetic reader. William Lloyd Garrison's vigorous attacks on slavery stirred her profoundly. Miss Crandall became an ardent apostle of the new faith.[41]

Inspired by successive copies of Garrison's paper, she longed to do something for the unfortunate colored people. But what could a mere woman do? For days she meditated on the first verse of the fourth chapter of Ecclesiastes: "So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter." These words made a deep impression on her. She felt that she was destined to be this comforter to the blacks. How or when she did not know. One thing, however, was certain: God

[37] Tappan, *op. cit.*, p. 151; William Jay, *An Inquiry into the Character and Tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies,* New York 1835, pp. 26–28.

[38] Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America,* Boston 1872–77, vol. i, pp. 239–240.

[39] Prudence, Almira (who taught in the school at Canterbury), and Dr. Reuben Crandall.

[40] Prudence and her brother, Dr. Reuben Crandall. The latter was imprisoned in Georgedown, D. C., in 1836 on a charge of disseminating seditious and incendiary literature. After he had lain in the prison six months, his trial was called and he was acquitted. For further details see *The Trial of Dr. Reuben Crandall . . .*, Washington 1836.

[41] Letter of Prudence Crandall in the *Liberator,* vol. iii (May 25, 1833), pp. 82–83.

would reveal the means and the opportunity in his own way and in his own good time.[41]

And he did. Just outside the village there lived a free Negro by the name of Harris. Harris owned a small farm which he worked industriously. He had saved money and was respected by his neighbors.[41] His daughter, Sarah, was a bright young girl who had graduated from the district school and was anxious to fit herself to be a teacher of colored children. But where could she get the necessary education? [42]

Sarah called on Miss Crandall and asked to be admitted to her school as a day pupil. Miss Crandall hesitated. She foresaw the complications which would inevitably arise. She knew that many of her patrons were members of the Colonization Society, and she was well aware of their attitude toward Negro education.[41] But there was something about Sarah's appeal that awoke the crusading spirit in her. She decided to take a chance, and accepted Sarah as a pupil.[42]

It was just as she had expected. Within a very few days the Episcopal rector's wife called to protest against this unseemly conduct. Excited mammas followed, threatening to withdraw their daughters if Sarah were not dismissed. Miss Crandall refused to let Sarah go.[43] The parents insisted. And then parents and pupils were informed that the Canterbury Female Boarding School would be closed until the first Monday in April, when it would reopen for " young ladies and little misses of color." [44]

This was no snapshot decision. It was the result of deliberate and careful planning. One month before making her public announcement, Miss Crandall had written to Garrison asking him if he thought it would be possible " to obtain twenty-five young ladies of color to enter a school for the term of one year at the rate of $25 per quarter including board, washing, and tuition." Apparently Garrison was sympathetic, for in February she went down to Boston to see him personally, telling her neighbors that she was going to visit schools and to purchase some equipment.[45]

[42] May, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
[43] Letter of Prudence Crandall to Ellen Larned. Quoted in *History of Windham County,* vol. ii, p. 491.
[44] May, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[45] Letter of Prudence Crandall, reprinted in the *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine,* vol. xxx (September, 1885), p. 780. See also the *Liberator,* vol. iii (May 25, 1833), pp. 82–83.

The Boston trip was followed by visits to Providence and New York. Almost everyone she talked to was interested. Several were most encouraging, and enough pupils were promised to make it seem possible to start the venture. Well satisfied, Miss Crandall returned to Canterbury, wrote an advertisement for the *Liberator,* and dismissed her white pupils in February, 1833.[46]

The townsfolk were taken completely by surprise. It required time for them to digest fully the news; but when they did they were furious. Some depicted in dramatic fashion the effect such a school would have upon the town's morals. Others feared a slump of fifty per cent in local real-estate values; those who had backed her financially felt that she had treacherously broken faith with them. All agreed it was time that those in authority should speak to the young lady.[47]

And they did. Committee after committee called, cajoled, protested, and threatened. Her own father begged her to give up this mad project.[48] Miss Crandall patiently heard them all out, quoted Scripture and the Declaration of Independence in defense of her action, and refused to give up her plan. One of her admirers said at the time, "The effect of her Quaker discipline appeared in every word she spoke, and in every expression of her countenance." Finally a special town meeting was called for March 9, 1833, to consider the matter of Miss Crandall's school.[49]

Miss Crandall was in desperate straits. Obviously it would be most unwise for her to attend the meeting in person. But whom could she get to appear for her? Almost everyone in the village had turned against her and the few friends she had left were afraid to risk the anger of the others. In this extremity two absolute strangers came forward to help her. One was Samuel May—the Unitarian minister in the neighboring village of Brooklyn—a bit of a radical but absolutely sincere and a born fighter. The other was Arnold Buffum, the brilliant and much-traveled

[46] Letter of Prudence Crandall reprinted in *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine,* vol. xxx (September, 1885), p. 780. See also Larned, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 491.

[47] *New York Commercial Advertiser,* vol. xxxvi (August 21, 1833); Samuel J. May, *Right of Colored People to Education . . .* (Brooklyn, Conn., 1833), pp. 16–17.

[48] Larned, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 492; Bernard Steiner, *History of Slavery in Connecticut,* p. 49, in *Johns Hopkins Studies,* Baltimore, vol. xi (1893).

[49] May, *Recollections . . . ,* p. 43.

Friend who was at that time the agent of the New England Anti-slavery Society.

It was arranged that these two men should represent her at the meeting—Buffum as her official attorney and May as his active assistant. Miss Crandall gave each a letter to the moderator and agreed to accept any arrangement they saw fit to make with the town.[50]

On the evening of March 9 all roads led to the Congregational Church on the green. Long before the hour when the meeting was scheduled to begin, the square pews on the ground floor were filled. Every voter who could get away from his farm or his fireside was present. Many people from the neighboring villages were on hand to see what Canterbury was going to do with Miss Crandall. A couple of Negroes looked down from the "black pew" at the rear of the gallery, and one of the Benson brothers from Providence was present, notebook in hand, to record the meeting for the *Liberator*.[51]

Shortly before the moderator called the meeting to order, May and Buffum entered the church and made their way with difficulty down the side aisle to one of the front pews.[52] Justice Adams as moderator opened the meeting by reading "the warning." He then laid before the citizens a series of resolutions condemning Miss Crandall and her school, and supported them by a vigorous speech.[53] Mr. Judson followed Mr. Adams. He regretted exceedingly the advent of this "nigger" school. His remarks were frequently punctuated with allusions to the evils of miscegenation. The atmosphere of the meeting became more and more heated. A Mr. White tried to oppose the resolutions against Miss Crandall, but was refused a hearing by the moderator. Finally, May and Buffum presented their letters to the moderator. Thereupon the meeting broke out into an uproar. All over the building excited men jumped to their feet to protest against this violation of custom and privilege. Only tax-paying citizens could take part in town

[50] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 492; May, *Right of Colored People* . . . , p. 7.

[51] May, *Some Recollections* . . . , p. 44; *Liberator*, vol. xxx (April 6, 1833), p. 78; May, *Right of Colored People* . . . , pp. 7–8.

[52] May, *Recollections* . . . , pp. 44–45.

[53] May, *Right of Colored People* . . . , pp. 9–10; *Recollections* . . . , p. 44.

meeting. What right had these "foreigners" here? Who let them in, anyway? Cries of "Throw them out" were heard on all sides.[54]

May and Buffum saw it was useless to attempt to do anything and sat down. Once more the moderator called the meeting to order. A vote on the resolutions was taken and passed. Then the meeting was declared adjourned.[55]

Hardly were the words out of the moderator's mouth before May leaped to his feet. "Men of Canterbury," he cried in a voice that carried to the last row of the gallery, "I have a word for you. You refused to let us present Miss Crandall's story to your meeting. Justice demands that you hear it now." Part of the crowd turned toward him. Briefly, clearly, and cogently he related the actual facts of the case, denied that Miss Crandall favored intermarriage between blacks and whites, and announced that she was perfectly willing to dispose of her house on the green and to move to a less conspicuous part of the village if they would stop their opposition to her and to her school. As soon as he had finished, Buffum took his place but had barely time to introduce himself before the trustees ordered the meeting house cleared and the doors bolted.[56]

In the meantime, Miss Crandall's story had seeped out to the towns and cities round about. Abolitionists everywhere admired her fine courage and were determined to stand by her. Garrison, although "distracted with care," wrote: "Miss Crandall must be sustained at all costs.—In Boston, we are all excited at the Canterbury affair. Colonizationalists are rejoicing and Abolitionists looking sternly."[57] The Reverend Simeon Jocelyn of New Haven reported to Garrison: "We are all determined to sustain Miss Crandall if there is law in the land enough to protect her. She is a noble soul and has no doubt more praying friends in the United States drawn to her by her persecution than the whole number of the population in Canterbury."[58]

[54] May, *Right of Colored People . . .*, pp. 10–11; May, *Recollections . . .*, p. 45.
[55] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 493.
[56] May, *Recollections . . .*, p. 46.
[57] Letter of William Lloyd Garrison to G. H. Benson, *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, vol. xxx (September, 1885), p. 782.
[58] Letter of Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn of New Haven to W. L. Garrison. Reprinted in *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805–1879: the story of His Life Told by His Children*, New York, 1885, vol. i, p. 340.

The visitation of the committees and the town meeting had been only preliminary skirmishes. The first frontal attack occurred on the opening day of the new school.

Early in its history Canterbury had passed a law against vagrants. Any person warned to leave town by the selectmen must either post a bond guaranteeing that he would not become a charge upon the town or else be subject to a fine of $1.67 for each week that he remained. If at the end of the ten days the vagrant had neither paid the fine nor left town, the whipping post was to be invoked: he was to be stripped to the waist and whipped on the naked back not to exceed ten strokes.[59]

This harsh old law was suddenly revived. On the day after her arrival one of the pupils, Eliza Hammond, a sixteen-year-old girl from Providence, was warned to leave town. On April 22, a writ was served on her. Eliza was plucky. She refused to pay the fine and declared she would rather take the whipping than give in. Fortunately May was able to post bonds for her and the other pupils. The first victory therefore went to Miss Crandall.[60]

Meanwhile the town had taken other steps to get rid of the school. Judson had prepared and circulated a petition to the American Colonization Society calling upon them for help.[61] And at a second town meeting on April 1 it was voted to petition the Connecticut General Assembly to pass a law forbidding schools to admit Negroes from outside the State.[62] The affair was thus taken out of the realm of local politics and had become a matter of concern to the entire State, and one that could be settled only by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Pressure from both groups was brought to bear on the Legislature. The Colonization Society was particularly active in supporting the petition, which was finally granted by the Assembly. During the last week of April a law was passed requiring the proprietor of any school accepting Negro students from other States to secure permission to do this from the local selectmen.[63]

Great was the rejoicing in Canterbury on the evening when the

[59] May, *Recollections . . .*, p. 51; *Liberator,* vol. iii (May 18, 1833), p. 78.
[60] Jay, *op. cit.* (see note 37), p. 34.
[61] Jay, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[62] *Liberator,* vol. iii (May 18, 1833), p. 78; Jay, *op. cit.,* p. 33.
[63] Larned, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, p. 496.

good news arrived in town. The church bell rang for half an hour and an old cannon was fired off.[64]

Acting on the strength of this new law, two of the leading citizens wrote Pardon a letter threatening him, the other members of his family, and any strangers from out of town, with a fine of $100 if they should attempt to visit Prudence; and warned Pardon that Miss Crandall would "be taken up the same way as for stealing a horse or for burglaring. Her property will not be taken but she will be put in jail, not having the liberty of the yard. There is no mercy to be shown about it." [65]

This last portion of the letter was no idle threat. On June 27 the sheriff appeared at the school with a warrant for the principal's arrest. She was escorted to the local court, where Messrs. Adams and Bacon presided. Both were ardent Colonizationalists and her bitter enemies. The trial was brief and to the point. Miss Crandall's counsel submitted a plea of guilty and the justices remanded her case to the next session of the county court. However, since this would not take place until sometime in August, it would be necessary for Miss Crandall to post bonds guaranteeing her presence at that time.[66]

To the surprise of the court no one stepped forward with the required bonds. A messenger was sent by the justices to her friend, May, describing what had happened and informing him that unless he provided the requisite surety, Miss Crandall would be thrown into jail. May coolly told the messenger to go back to Canterbury. He did not intend to provide bail for the young lady.

When the messenger returned to court empty-handed, Adams and Bacon were furious; but since there was nothing else to do they instructed the sheriff to conduct the prisoner to the county jail at Brooklyn. That officer nodded stiffly. It was the first time he had been called upon to take a female into custody, and he did not like it.[67]

The last public execution in Windham County had taken place in Brooklyn in August, 1831. In March of 1829 Oliver Watkins

[64] Letter from a pupil, May 24, 1833, printed in the *Hartford Intelligencer* and reprinted in the *Liberator*, vol. iii (June 22, 1833), p. 99.
[65] Quoted in Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 497.
[66] May, *Recollections* . . . , pp. 52–53.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 53–55.

of Sterling had wrapped a whipcord around his wife's neck and strangled her. For this he was sentenced to be hanged by the neck until quite dead. The gallows was set up on a hill outside the village. Two clergymen and a company of militia were in attendance. A large crowd gathered to hear an edifying sermon on the text, " Be sure your sins will find you out," and to stand in hushed silence as the miserable victim was hanged.[68]

May's refusal to give bonds for Miss Crandall was not the result of indifference. It was merely part of a neatly laid scheme to attract popular sympathy to their cause. They not only planned to force Judson to sentence Miss Crandall to jail but they so arranged it that she should be lodged in the very cell in which Oliver Watkins had passed his last night on earth. To be sure, everything was done to make the experience as easy as possible. The rooms were specially cleaned and aired. A new bed and bedstead were substituted for the dirty pallet, and a young girl from Brooklyn, named Mary Benson, volunteered to stay with her.[69]

When the sheriff drove up with his prisoner it was already twilight. He was dumbfounded to see the arrangements that had been made; but it was too late to confer with Mr. Judson. Miss Crandall was handed over to the jailer. He opened the door of her chamber and the prisoner looked in. For a moment she hesitated. May stepped up and quietly informed her that the necessary bonds were in his pocket and that he would post them immediately if she wished. She shook her head vigorously. Then she thanked the little crowd of friends who had gathered to encourage her, wished them all a good evening, and followed by Mary Benson, entered her cell.[70]

On the following afternoon May posted his bonds and drove Miss Crandall back to Canterbury.[71] The irritation of Messrs. Judson, Bacon, and Adams was extreme. And it was not lessened by the hot June weather. The campaign of public persecution, which had been allowed somewhat to lapse, was now pressed vigorously.

[68] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 479; Henry V. Arnold, *Memoir of West Side Danielson*, Larimore, N. D., 1906, p. 10.
[69] May, *Recollections . . .*, pp. 53–55.
[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 54–56.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 57. See also *A Statement of Facts Respecting the School for Colored Females . . .* (an anonymous pamphlet published at Brooklyn, Conn., 1833), p. 12.

Whenever she and her pupils went for a walk, a crowd of noisy hoodlums trailed along behind, hooting, jeering, and blowing tin horns.[72] Her house was spattered with rotten eggs.[73] Her students were never sure when stones would come hurtling through the air in their direction.[74] The local dealers signed an agreement not to fill her orders.[75] Doctor Harris refused to call at the house. The trustees of the church on the green declined to seat her pupils.[76] Someone threw a shovelful of manure into her well, and no one would supply her with fresh water. Their publicity campaign appeared to have fallen flat.[77] And the opposition was strengthened by a public meeting of the Colonization Society of Windham County on the Fourth of July. This meeting rewarded the efforts of Judson in opposing Miss Crandall so energetically by appointing him orator for their next quarterly meeting.[78] Everything seemed to be going against Miss Crandall.

But the Colonizationalists had not reckoned on Miss Crandall's pluck and perseverance. She met each situation as it arose with ingenuity. The shattered window remained to add to the beauty and dignity of the green.[79] She found a sympathetic storekeeper in a near-by village, and a friendly Negro in Norwich. The Negro volunteered to bring her the supplies which the Packerville grocer provided, and to carry her pupils back and forth from the school.[80] When the doors of the Congregational Church were closed to her and her students, she found that they were welcome to attend either the Baptist services at Packerville or the meetings of the Friends at Black Hill. The water problem was more difficult to solve. She had but one well and for a time it looked as though the school would perish from thirst. Then Pardon took his courage in his own two hands and ran the village gantlet each day with a few pails of water from his well at the other end of town.[80]

[72] Poem written by Miss Crandall, quoted in Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 499.
[73] *American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1836*, Boston 1835, p. 20.
[74] Edward S. Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America*, London 1835, vol. i, p. 200.
[75] *Liberator*, vol. iii (July 6, 1833), p. 107.
[76] *Connecticut Courant*, vol. lxix (Sept. 2, 1833).
[77] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 495.
[78] *Liberator*, vol. iii (July 20, 1833), p. 115.
[79] Abdy, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 200.
[80] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 496, 500.

Editorial indifference took a longer time to break down. Work as hard as he might, May could not get a single paper to accept his articles. Even an editor whom he had set up in business refused him. "If I printed an article in defense of the school," he said, "it would be the destruction of my establishment." [81] Only the *Liberator* and a few religious and philanthropic papers had the courage and interest to print occasional friendly items about the school.[82]

In spite of this journalistic hostility and the hatred of the neighbors, Miss Crandall's friends were rapidly increasing. By word of mouth and by mail the story of the Negro school at Canterbury was finding its way to all parts of America and England.

Miss Crandall was deluged with letters of encouragement. An admirer in Montreal addressed his letter to "Miss Prudence Crandall (inhumanly and despotically imprisoned by a people calling themselves freemen); [83] while from London, Nathaniel Paul, a Negro minister from New England, wrote: "Miss Crandall also shares the admiration and sympathy of the friends of religion, and is and will be supported by the prayers of the Christians in Britain, while they heartily bid her God-speed in her heroic and praise-worthy undertaking." [84]

Others heard of the plucky fight she was making, and gathered at Canterbury to meet her and to inspect her school. One of these was an Englishman named Abdy, who wrote: "On the 5th of August I left Providence by stage for Brooklyn on my way to Canterbury where a lady of the name of Crandall—a name that had been heard in every hamlet and house throughout the nation—had set up a school for colored girls. My object in thus going out of my road was to see what could have caused so much ire to the liberal minds of republican America." [85]

Frequently these visits were marked by little assemblies, or exhibitions, as they were called in those days. At these affairs the pupils recited poems, sang songs, or read essays which they had composed on such subjects as "Modesty," "Purity," etc. On one

[81] May, *Recollections . . .*, p. 60.
[82] *Liberator,* vol. iii (April 6, 1833), p. 55.
[83] Abdy, *op. cit.,* vol. i, p. 204.
[84] Carter G. Woodson, *The Mind of the Negro . . .* (Washington 1926), p. 170.
[85] Abdy, *op. cit.,* vol. i, pp. 191–192.

such occasion four little tots dressed in white sang a pathetic song describing their difficulties, concluding with the verse:

> But we forgive, forgive the men,
> That persecute us so.
> May God in mercy save their souls
> From everlasting woe.[86]

Miss Crandall may or may not have realized it, but these exhibitions were the finest kind of publicity, and helped to keep alive the interest and enthusiasm of her friends.

At last substantial help arrived. When Miss Crandall had visited New York in February, one of the men most interested in her project was Arthur Tappan. Tappan was a New York merchant who had built up a large fortune by adopting early in his business career two fixed principles: Never to have a chair in his office for visitors, and always to place a fixed price (which he made as low as possible) on all his goods. As a result of these revolutionary practices he had both the time and the money to sponsor numerous reform movements and to patronize many philanthropies.[87]

Originally he had been a member of the American Colonization Society. But the discovery that barrels of rum were accompanying the freed Negroes to "Afric's burning clime," and the arguments of Garrison and the *Liberator,* had converted him into an ardent abolitionist.[88]

As soon as he had heard that Miss Crandall had been thrown into jail, he wrote to May impressing upon him the tremendous importance of Miss Crandall's case to the cause of abolition—particularly since the New Haven school had fallen through—and suggested that May engage the finest lawyers in Connecticut to defend her; and he offered to pay their fees and all other court expenses.[89]

May was delighted and immediately retained the services of three clever lawyers.[90] Then he had an inspiration. Perhaps here was the solution to their newspaper problem. If Tappen

[86] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 499–500.
[87] Tappan, *op. cit.* (see note 35), pp. 70, 85.
[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 127–129.
[89] May, *Recollections . . .* , pp. 58–60.
[90] William H. Ellsworth, Calvin Goddard, and Henry Strong. See May, *Recollections . . .* , p. 59.

could be made to realize the intensely bitter feeling that engulfed the school, perhaps he might—at any rate, May wrote to him and intimated that he was desperately needed in Connecticut.[89]

Tappan came. He talked with May and his friends and spent some time at the school.[91] When he returned to Brooklyn he was all afire. Conditions in Canterbury were worse than he had ever imagined. They were monstrous—indescribable. If people outside only knew. Something should be done. Local antagonisms must be broken down and a favorable opinion created. There was but one way to accomplish all this: a newspaper must be established.

Tappan was a man of action. Before May could believe his own eyes a complete printing shop had been purchased. Its expenses over and above the returns of its sales and subscriptions were guaranteed. And a clever young law student, Charles C. Burleigh, was dragged from his summer haying to the editorial chair of the *Unionist*.[92]

Six weeks later Miss Crandall's case was tried before the county court at Brooklyn. The trial was a nerve-racking experience. In the first place, it was a long time in getting under way. The State's attorney was taken sick and it was some time before a substitute was appointed. Then the attorneys for the defense objected to two members of the jury. And finally when the fourteen witnesses for the State were called, with but two exceptions, they were either her pupils, friends who had been kind to her, or her own relations.[93]

The pupils bravely refused to testify. Mr. Judson, attorney for the State, insisted that they had to. Miss Crandall's lawyers maintained that they did not. Finally the court ruled that the two from New York and the one from Providence need not speak but the fourth, a Hartford girl, must take the stand, and when she still refused, she was hustled off to jail. The Baptist minister from Packerville, the Reverend Levi Kneeland, also refused to say anything, and he too was turned over to the sheriff.[94]

[91] May, *Recollections . . .*, p. 60.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[93] *Connecticut Courant*, vol. lxix (Sept. 2, 1833); *A Statement of Facts . . .* (see note 71), pp. 10–16.
[94] *Connecticut Courant*, vol. lxix (Sept. 2, 1833); *A Statement of Facts . . .*, pp. 12–16.

Finally Mary Benson, the young girl who had spent the night in Brooklyn jail with Miss Crandall, was called. She realized that nothing was to be gained by withholding testimony. Miss Crandall herself had always admitted breaking the law. She therefore answered freely and fairly each question that was put to her by Mr. Judson. She admitted that the three young Negro girls present were from outside the State of Connecticut, that they were pupils of the school, and that she had visited classes in geography, history, and arithmetic in which these young girls took part.[94]

When the Reverend Mr. Kneeland and Eliza Gasko heard that Miss Benson had testified, they sent word that they too were ready to take the stand and the judge ordered that they be released.[94]

Finally after all the witnesses had been heard, the summary of the case was presented. Both sides agreed that the fundamental question was not Miss Crandall and her school, but the constitutionality of the law passed by the General Assembly. Could Connecticut lawfully withhold from citizens of New York and Rhode Island rights which they enjoyed in their native States? [95]

The prosecution admitted that it could not—provided that the persons were citizens; but added that freed Negroes never could be citizens in the technical sense of the word.

The defense sharply opposed this view, and insisted that Negroes *were* citizens—that the Declaration of Independence had intended that they should be so considered.[95]

The arguments flew thick and fast. Lawyers, witnesses, and spectators became more and more excited. By the time the judge presented his charge to the jury the emotional temperature of the court room was at fever height.[95]

Judge Eaton tried to clarify the case. He reminded the jurors that as far as the *facts* were concerned, they alone could determine whether the law had been broken—but as to the character of the *law,* it was the duty of the court to state an opinion; and the opinion of the court was that the law was constitutional. However, since this was a criminal case, the State gave them the right to decide " both the law and the fact." [96]

[95] *Connecticut Courant,* vol. lxix (Sept. 9, 1833).
[96] *Connecticut Courant,* vol. lxix (Sept. 9, 1833); *New York Commercial Advertiser,* vol. xxxvi (Aug. 28, 1833).

The jury left the room. The divided opinion of the spectators was reflected in the jury. Twice they informed the judge that they were unable to come to a decision and each time they were told to try again. Finally the foreman sent in word that they could not agree and that there was no likelihood of their reaching an agreement. Seven were for conviction and five stood for acquittal. The jury was excused. Neither side had won;[96] but Miss Crandall had gained time.

The prosecution made up their minds to strike while the iron was hot. Judson succeeded in getting the case tried before the State superior court at its October session, 1833. This time the anti-Crandallites were completely successful. The constitutionality of the law was upheld and Miss Crandall was convicted of breaking it. Her lawyers, however, appealed the case to the State supreme court, which sat the following July. But by this time the feeling between the abolitionists and their opponents had become so intense, and the question of the legal status of the Negro so delicate, that the court was afraid to hand down a decision and on technical grounds refused to try the case. The matter was thus left hanging.[97]

Meanwhile the school had continued to carry on. The editor of the *Liberator* from time to time had urged all colored parents who could afford it to send their daughters to Canterbury. He assured them that their children would be well cared for and well instructed.[98] The attendance had therefore increased from fourteen to seventeen, and two new teachers had been added to the faculty: Miss Crandall's pretty young sister, Almira, and Mr. William H. Burleigh, brother of the editor of the *Unionist*.[99]

At last the Canterburyans decided to take matters into their own hands. Early one morning in September, 1834, a mysterious fire broke out in the school. The flames were put out before they had had time to do much damage, but the pupils had been badly frightened. Later on in the week, just as the children were getting ready for bed, a group of men stole silently up to the house and at a given signal began to beat the walls with heavy iron bars. The shock was so terrific that the windows were completely shattered, the

[97] May, *Recollections . . .*, pp. 68, 70.
[98] *Liberator*, vol. iii (June 15, 1833), p. 95.
[99] Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 499.

doors broken in, and the house left in almost uninhabitable condition.[100]

Everyone in the building was terrified. Miss Crandall passed a sleepless night. In the morning she sent for May. The two decided that if such methods were going to be adopted by their enemies it would be impossible to continue the school. The pupils were told to pack their trunks. The school was closed and in a very few weeks Miss Crandall disposed of her house and left the village.[101]

Canterbury's victory was at last complete!

And then, as if to justify their conduct to future generations, a third—and final—town meeting was called. At this meeting a series of resolutions were passed and caused to be inscribed upon the village records. These declared that America belonged "of right to the white people" and "must never be surrendered to any other nation or race of men"; that abolition was a pernicious enemy to the State and to the country; that their appeal to the General Assembly was an "obligation devolving upon" them . . . "under the Constitution," and "they rejoiced that the appeal was not in vain."[102]

Fifty-two years, in 1886, later a calmer and somewhat contrite generation rejected this decision of its ancestors. The Connecticut State Legislature expressed its regrets for the past to Miss Crandall—now Mrs. Calvin Philleo of Elk Falls, Kansas—and as a partial compensation voted her[103] an annual pension of $400.

QUAKERISM IN SAUDA, NORWAY

By Henry J. Cadbury

The Bulletin has recently published numerous references to Norwegian Quakerism. The following quotations are now offered, though they deal with a small and obscure part of larger

[100] Bernard Steiner, *op. cit.* (see note 48), pp. 51–52; May, *Recollections . . .*, p. 71; Larned, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 501.

[101] May, *Recollections . . .*, p. 71; Larned, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

[102] Larned, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

[103] Norris Osborn, ed., *History of Connecticut*, New York 1925, vol. iii, p. 168. Mrs. Philleo died at Elk Falls, Kansas, on January 27, 1890. Stillman, *op. cit.* (see note 10), p. 26.

Quaker history. They are from a rather unexpected source, *Stavanger Turistforening Aarbok,* 1931 (Yearbook of the Stavanger Tourist Association), a collection of articles dealing with Sand and Sauda. The first passage is from pp. 19 ff. in an article (in modern Norwegian or Landsmaal) by Trygve Sundt, entitled "Fra is til ild gjennem fossen" (From Ice to Fire through the Waterfalls). The second is from pp. 103 ff. in an essay by Hans Hylen (in Riksmaal) dealing with the culture of the sagas and of popular story. The whole volume is handsomely illustrated. Facing p. 6 is a picture of Sauda in 1870 with the Friends' meeting house and graveyard in the foreground. On p. 103 is a small picture of the new meeting house. For the translation of the text I am indebted to my two Norwegian friends and Woodbrooke neighbors, Mrs. E. S. Mingana and Mrs. Birgit Dalley.

Stavanger has been the cradle of the Society of Friends in Norway. But it was only after the Friends, by dint of patience and strength, had received freedom by the Law of Dissenters (1845), that they could go to Sauda. Formerly they had only been allowed to live in Stavanger and the near surroundings. Later Sauda became one of the biggest Quaker centres in Rogaland county. The Friends have never been a big community and even in 1850 their numbers were decreasing in Sauda. In 1875 there were 48, in 1920 only 5—of a total of 88 in the entire country. The Society of Friends has not made a great epoch in the world's history; silently they exercise their influence more by the witness of the personal life than by their doctrine.

They built a meeting house in Sauda and fenced in a piece of land for their dead. They did not consecrate the ground; without words they buried their dead. *La vie sans phrase, la mort sans phrase.*

Something happened in Sauda. The Quakers' catechism, namely what is written on their conscience, will not permit them to pay anything to the Church or the clergy. They were exempted from this by the law of 1845, but an exception was made with regard to tithes and taxes on property. In 1857 Aadne Brekke refused to pay tithes—he was living in poor circumstances, as were all the Friends in Sauda. But the priest remembered what was due to Caesar, and demanded the money; it was 40 skillings in butter and 36 skillings in tithes. It became a long and sad case. First the cooking-stove was distrained, then legal judgment was taken; the demand increased to 13 doll. 6 skillings and at last the whole farm was distrained. Aadne was not at home when the sheriff arrived; his wife was bending over a dying child. Following three auctions the farm was practically sold for a song. Three weeks later Aadne with his wife and child were left

destitute. But the Quakers bought another farm at Aabö and divided it between Aadne and Bjedne Brekke, who was also poor and persecuted.

We have the first description of Sauda from a Quaker. During the summer of 1875, an American Quaker, Allen Jay, made "a most valuable visit to Norway." His book is called "Light and Shade from the Land of the Midnight Sun." In the middle of June he arrived in Sauda. "The waterfalls were very beautiful, and the grand old mountains, wrapped in green and fringed at their base with ferns and flowers, arrested the attention of Allen Jay, who gazed with admiration on our surroundings of beauty and grandeur, but wondered how it was possible to provide for the wants of a family from the produce of the tiny farms, many of which we passed in the course of the journey." He went from house to house amongst the Friends, and understood "that the real wants of man are in small compass." He had a view of the Sauda homes as they were about two generations ago—"the whole presenting a picture of rigid simplicity." It rained, and in the brightness between the showers the rocky crags and surrounding mountains were very fine to look upon; the snow still resting on some of their summits bore evidence of their altitude. The isolation of this place is in part relieved by the occasional visits of the steamer, affording facilities at an easy rate for travelling from place to place and for the transport of goods. The storm had been very heavy, but in spite of that it was the great stillness which spoke to the Quaker's heart. In walking to the boat Allen Jay remarked: "We have had a nice visit; a very nice visit—I shall not soon forget this place."

The owners of Sauda waterfalls bought the property at Aabö. The graveyard is now a sacred spot, lying like a quiet island in the noise of a growing town. The two plots bear the names of *Venneheim* and *Vennetun* as a memory of Friends.

II

The Quaker movement came to some places in Ryfylke county during 1840, especially Tysvaer and Skjold and later to Sauda. Many townspeople spent the summers at Sauda, and Endre Dahl, one of the leading Quakers in Stavanger, started in 1850 a Quaker Meeting there. A piece of land was bought at Aabö, a meeting house built and a graveyard laid out. There were about twenty adult members, more or less Quaker-minded. Good, serious Christians they were, honored for their honest, straightforward living. They held their quiet meetings and worked for religious freedom. When the property at Aabö was sold in 1914, the Quakers moved their meeting house to Solbrekk, where they owned land. But the graveyard is left in the middle of the new town.

There are not many Quakers in Sauda now; but in summertime they now and then get visits from Friends, sometimes even from England, and then they hold their silent meetings as of old.

DOCUMENT

JOURNAL OF ZACHARIAH FERRIS'S VISITS TO SOUTHERN FRIENDS' MEETINGS

Edited by Leon deValinger, Jr.

Zachariah Ferris, of Wilmington, Delaware, the author of this journal, was a member of the well-known Wilmington Quaker family of that name. He was the third of the four sons of Zachariah and Sarah Ferris of New Milford, Connecticut. The exact date of young Zachariah's coming to Wilmington is not known definitely, but it can easily be inferred, as his older brother, David, came to Wilmington in 1737, and a younger brother, John, arrived in 1748. Moreover, in 1741, another brother, Benjamin, wrote an account of a meeting held at New Castle, Delaware, which he and Zachariah attended, thus showing that our "journalist" was indeed at Wilmington in that year. Benjamin Ferris, the historian, believed that Zachariah came to Wilmington in the spring of 1739,[1] when he would have been twenty-two years old.

Not long after his arrival in Wilmington, Zachariah became acquainted with Elizabeth, the daughter of Patrick and Eleanor Scott, whom he married Sixth month 13, 1741 (O. S.). Their children were: Hannah, born Ninth month 28, 1743 (O. S.), who married Joseph Townsend; John, born Seventh month 29, 1746 (O. S.), died Tenth month 24, 1828 (N. S.); Elizabeth, born Tenth month 2, 1750 (O. S.), who married Samuel Horner;

[1] These data on the life of Zachariah Ferris were kindly supplied by Miss Matilda Ferris of Wilmington, Delaware, from a family genealogy compiled by her grandfather, Benjamin Ferris, whose *Original Settlements on the Delaware*, published in 1846, was the first history of Delaware.

The original of the bust portrait shown on the opposite page was drawn by Peter Bauduy, the architect of the Old Town Hall in Wilmington, on the back of a homemade playing card, in 1797. The three-quarter likeness was drawn by Benjamin Ferris, the Quaker historian of Delaware, who was a youth of twenty-three when his uncle Zachariah died in 1803. Both originals are in the possession of Miss Matilda Ferris, of Wilmington, the grand-daughter of Benjamin Ferris.

The two portraits, though of entirely independent origin, show considerable similarity. A large nose and rather pointed chin are shown in both; and though the nose of the bust portrait suggests a somewhat disdainful cast of mind, the expression appears to be due to the imperfections of reproduction; and the total impression of the eyes and mouth in both portraits is one of kindly geniality.

Contemporary Portraits of Zachariah Ferris

(Remainder of caption at foot of p. 58)

Phebe, born Eighth month 30, 1748 (O. S.), who died at the age of four years and six months; and Lydia, born Eighth month 3, 1752 (O. S.), who died in infancy.

Miss Montgomery, in her *Reminiscences of Wilmington,*[2] writes this of Zachariah: "On the north side of Second Street above West Street, Zachariah Ferris, an acceptable minister in the Friends' Society, owned a tanyard and dwelling house." His brother, John, who died Seventh month 10, 1751 (O. S.), was also a tanner, and it was more than likely that they were, at one time or another, engaged in business together. During the later years of his life, Zachariah Ferris traveled extensively, visiting many meetings, as this journal alone shows. Moreover, he is reputed to have traversed the whole eastern seaboard from Maine to Georgia, and it is hoped that some of his other journals, telling of visits to northern meetings, will be discovered in time. On January 6, 1803, Zachariah Ferris came to the end of an active and useful life of eighty-six years, at the home of his son, John, on Market Street, in Wilmington, Delaware.[3]

Upon examining this journal we find that it is written on one double sheet, size 16⅜ by 13¼ inches, and on two single sheets of fine laid paper, size 8⅛ by 13¼ inches, watermarked J G & C°. BRANDYWINE, and thus identified as an early product of the famous Gilpin Paper Mills established on the Brandywine, at Wilmington, by two Quaker brothers, Joshua and Thomas Gilpin, in 1787.[4] Some parts of this manuscript are easily read, while others are hardly legible, due to the malformation of the letters, the cut of the quill, and the varying grades of inks used. Other

[2] Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington,* Philadelphia 1851, p. 257.

[3] Miss Matilda Ferris told me that this house stood on Market Street above Sixth, where the Pyle Shoe Store, now part of the Kennard-Pyle Company, is located. Elizabeth Montgomery on page 257 of *Reminiscences of Wilmington* states that this house stood between Fifth and Sixth Streets on Market, opposite the City Hall, the building now being occupied by the Historical Society of Delaware.

[4] Henry C. Conrad, *History of the State of Delaware,* Wilmington, Del., 1908, p. 423, states that the watermark of Gilpin paper in 1805 was "T. Gilpin Brandywine."

Other watermarks used by this mill were "J & T G & C°. BRANDYWINE," "J G & C°." and the figure of a plow instead of the word "Brandywine"; later, in 1816 or 1817, they manufactured some paper bearing the watermark "J G & C°." with a fleur-de-lis opposite.

parts of this journal are so faded that it was with the greatest difficulty that anything intelligible could be perceived, and the transcription was further hampered by the use of little or no punctuation as well as by the arbitrary spelling employed by the journalist.

The record of the journey southward is merely an itinerary of different places visited and the mileage from one place to another. Furthermore, there is no account of Ferris's travels from his home, in Wilmington, to Gravelly Run, Virginia, where this itinerary begins.

As to the date of the journal, we may observe that no year, nor indeed any date at all, is given for the itinerary which constitutes the only record of the southward part of the journey. We may conclude, however, from a study of the document as a whole, that the southward journey started early in 1790, or late in 1789.

The record of the homeward journey, in giving dates, only twice mentions the year. The date of starting north from Georgia is given near the beginning of the account, without specification of the year, as October 20; but under date of November 15, a little further on, the year 1789 is mentioned. There is reason to believe, however, that this is an error for 1790; for toward the end of the same paragraph, and at several places elsewhere, the journalist gives the *day of the week* as well as the day of the month, and all these dates except one, which is obviously wrong, would have fallen on the specified day of the week in 1790 but not in 1789.

From this entry on, the successive dates are given at short intervals up to the end of the year. Then we come to this statement, containing the only other reference to a year: "From Catlet Jones Setout for Smiths Creek in Shandore County the 3 Day of thee Year 1791 & Crossed the Blew Ridg & lodged at a tannors hous." If we assume that the first year entry in the journal, 1789, was correct, the journal has omitted the year 1790 entirely. It is more probable that the date given as 1789 was an error for 1790, especially as the references which specify the day of the week check from this point on with the calendar for 1791. Thus about twenty lines further on we find that Ferris "was at South Fork meeting on first day the 16th of the month," i.e., January. January 16 was actually a Sunday in 1791.

The heading of that portion of the journal dealing with the southern journey leads one to believe that Garad Blackford accompanied Ferris, but there is nothing further to indicate whether they continued together to Wrightsborough, Georgia, or parted somewhere in Virginia or the Carolinas. Whether or not this is what occurred we have no way of knowing, for there is nothing in the journal to indicate how far Blackford did travel. On the northern journey Garad Blackford is not indicated as being present. The journal contains entries of this sort: "20th of 10th Mo. we set out for Joseph Maddocks," "this day we traveled through the town of Augusta," "We set out the 1 Day of thee 11 Mo. for North Carolina." These excerpts, containing the word "we," naturally cause one to believe that Ferris was accompanied by Garad Blackford, his companion on the southern itinerary. This, however, does not seem to be the case, for farther on this item is recorded: "Joel Lewis Returned home wards who had traveled with me from the upper meeting on Goos creek to this place about 155 miles." The context of the remainder of the journal is so worded as to imply that Zachariah Ferris was traveling alone. Furthermore, near the end of the journal this entry is made: "From Basel Brooks I came to Engar Williams," thus showing that Ferris was alone, and prompting the conclusion that Blackford was not on the journey northward at all and that on the southern journey he might have acted as a guide for only a portion of the distance, as did Joel Lewis, Able Walker, William McFasson, and others who guided Zachariah Ferris through the South on his return to his home in Wilmington, Delaware.

Zachariah Ferris's journal is now printed for the first time from the original manuscript, in the custody of the Delaware Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware. I have followed the original in spelling and phraseology; my additions, consisting only of explanatory notes and marks of punctuation, have been inclosed in brackets.

[*Itinerary of the journey southward from James River, Virginia, probably dating from 1790*]

Memorandam [*sic*] of the Meetings Visited by our friends Zacariah Faris and Garad Blackford from James River Southwardly
Also the Distance from place to place

Viz:	*Miles from place to place*	*Miles*
Gravelly Run [Dinwiddie Co., Va.] from Curls [Lower Henrico Co., Va.]	25	25
Sadlers Meeting in Brunswick [Co., Va.]	35	65 [*sic*]
Ladds Meeting in Meelingburg [Mecklenburg Co., Va.]	15	80
Durham Meeting In Ditto	30	110
Burleigh Monthly Meeting [Prince George Co., Va.] on 5th Day	110	220
Black Water Meeting [Surry Co., Va.]	25	245
Seacock Meeting [Sussex Co., Va.]	7	252
Stantons Meeting [Sussex Co., Va.]	9	261
Vickers Meeting [Vick's, Southampton Co., Va.]	20	281
Black Creek Meeting [Southampton Co., Va.]	18	299
Western Branch or Johnsons Meeting [Va.]	20	319
Johnsons Meeting or Western Branch [Isle of Wight Co., Va.]	10	329
Bennetts Creek Meeting [Nansemond Co., Va.]	15	344
Sumertown [Somerton, Nansemond Co., Va.]	20	364
Eastern part of North Carolina		
from Summertown [Somerton] to Piney wood Meeting [Perquimans Co., N. C.]	35	399
to Williers [N. C.]	5	404
To the old Neck [Perquimans Co., N. C.]	7	411
A Meeting at Albertsons [N. C.?]	5	416
Little River [Perquimans Co., N. C.]	5	421
Simons Creek [Symon's Creek, Pasquotank Co., N. C.]	6	427
Newbegun Creek [Pasquotank Co., N. C.]	5	432
Narrows or Truebloods [Pasquotank Co., N. C.]	10	442
from thence to Rich Square [Northampton Co., N. C.]	75	517
Jack Swamp [Northampton Co., N. C.]	25	552 [*sic*]
Vicks or Stony Creek [N. C.]	50	602
Contentney [Contentnea, Wayne Co., N. C.]	30	632
From Contentney to Corsound [Core Sound, Carteret Co., N. C.]	120	752
From thence to the Upper Meeting on trent [Jones Co., N. C.]	80	832
From thence to John Cannadays [N. C.]	40	872
From thence to Eno In the Upper Settlements of [Orange Co.,] North Caroliny [*sic*]	80	952
From thence to Spring Meeting [Alamance Co., N. C.]	25	977
From thence to Cane Creek [Alamance Co., N. C.]	7	984
From thence to Rocky River [Chatham Co., N. C.]	7	991
From Rocky River to Nathan Dicksons [Alamance Co.?, N. C.]	12	1003
From thence to Cornelias Tisons [Chatham Co., N. C.]	20	1023
Thence Back to Nathan Dicksons [N. C.]	20	1043
From thence to Holley [Holly] Spring [Randolph Co., N. C.]	12	1055

From thence Back to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting	20	1075
Thence to Sandy Creek [Randolph Co., N. C.]	10	1085
From thence to Providence [Randolph Co., N. C.]	8	1093
From thence to Back Creek [Randolph Co., N. C.]	15	1108
From thence to Malborough [Marlboro, Randolph Co., N. C.]	10	1118
From thence to Center [Guilford Co., N. C.]	10	1128
From thence to Springfield [Guilford Co., N. C.]	15	1143
From thence to Deep River [Guilford Co., N. C.]	7	1150
From Deep River to Bull Run [Guilford Co., N. C.]	5	1155
From thence to Newgarden [Guilford Co., N. C.]	5	1160
From NewGarden to the Lower Meeting on Reedy-fork	7	1167
From thence to the Upper Meeting on Ditto	5	1172
From thence to Muddy Creek [Forsyth Co., N. C.]	6	1178
From thence to Blues Creek [Yadkin Co., N. C.]	5	1183
From thence to Westfield [Surry Co., N. C.]	40	1223
From thence to Deep Creek [Yadkin Co., N. C.]	35	1258
From Simon Hadleys on Deep Creek Southwardly to John Wilsons on Tiger River in South Carolina and had a Meeting Cane Creek [Union Co., S. C.]	150	1408
From thence to Pagges [Padgett's] Creek [Union Co., S. C.] and Lodged at David Smith	9	1417
From thence to Rocky Spring [Newberry Co., S. C.] and Lodged at Thos. Pearsons	25	1442
From thence to Bush River [Newberry Co., S. C.] & Lodged at Henry Steadams	6	1448
Thence Back to Bush River Next Day	10	1458
From henry Steadams to Muddlick [Mud Lick, Newberry Co., S. C.]	20	1478
From Muddlick to Reabens [Rayburn's] Creek [Laurens Co., S. C.] & lodg^{d} at Richard Batson	20	1498
From thence to Hendersons meeting [S. C.]	40	1538
From thence to Wrightsborough [M^{c}Duffie Co.,] In Georgia & lodged at Noble Buttes [Butler]	55	1593
From thence Up In the woods & had a meeting at Marmanduke Mendenhall [Ga.]	7	1600
Thence Back to the Meeting of Wrights Borough [Ga.] & lodged at Daniel William	12	1612
From thence to Joseph Maddocks & had A Meeting there	8	1620

[*Account of the journey northward from Wrightsborough, Georgia, starting October 20, 1790*]

Note that after having three Meetings in Georgia one at Marmanduke Mendenhalls about 12 Miles Northwest of Wrights Borough & another at their Meeting house of Wrights Borough afores^{d}. & one at Joseph Maddocks [5] about 10 miles South East of Wrights Borough, Next day it Being the 20th of the 10th Mo.

[5] In 1770, Joseph Maddock and Jonathan Still founded the town of Wrightsborough, on Town Creek, naming it for Sir James Wright, Governor of the colony.—Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, Baltimore 1896, p. 118.

[1790,] we set out from Joseph Maddocks for Charlestown in South Carolina and this Day we traveled through the town of A[u]gusta in Georgia on the Savanah [Savannah River] 30 miles from Joseph Maddocks thence Down said River three miles to the Sandy Bar ferry where we Crossed into South Carolina & thence Down [said] River to a place Called the Three Runs to James Wilsons son of James & Sarah Wilson Deceased 28 miles[.] From thence we set out again for Charlestown & after traveling about 100 miles through the pine Barren wilderness we Crossed the River Edesto [Edisto] & had a Meeting among a tender innocent people lately Convinced of our Religious principles 15 miles[.] From thence to Charlestown 60 Miles & after a stay of five Days In Charlestown attending all their meetings as they came in Course[.] We set out the 1 Day of thee 11 Mo for North Carolina & the Second Day got to Turks Corner . . . 60 Miles from Charleston[.] From thence to Camden 60 Miles and had a Meeting there[.] From Camden to Peedee [Pee Dee] 80 Miles and had A Meeting & from thence to the Quarterly meeting at Cane Creek 80 Miles the 15 Day of 11 mo. 1789.[6] From Cane Creek to Rockey River Curse 28 mil[e]s 16 & 17 Days of the month[.] I was at Cane Creek the 18 Day apoor [a poor] little Company of Dead Proffessors[.] From Cane Creek to Eno 30 miles[.] Lodged at James Thompsons[.] From James Thompsons to Isaac Jacksons[7] 7 mils. From Isaac Jacksons to a house near Tarr river 30 miles lodged there. From thence to James Colliers 30 [miles] Lodged there; from thence to the widdow Harriss's 27 miles lodged there; from thence to Rich Square[8] meeting 35 miles lodged at friends house hard by named Samuel Parker[.] Had a Meeting at Rich square Meeting house on Sixth day the 26th of the 11th Mo. then went back 7 Miles to Amos Parkers and had a Meeting there 27th thence Back to Rich

[6] This date is probably an error for 1790, as explained above.—Cane Creek is the name of an old meeting established December, 1751. Members of college faculties are tenderly cautioned not to take Zachariah's estimate of Cane Creek meeting amiss.

[7] Isaac Jackson moved to North Carolina from East Nottingham between 1751 and 1754.

[8] The settlement was made here in 1750 and three years later meetings were held. The monthly meeting was established in 1760.—Weeks, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–90.

Square and had a meeting there on first day the 28th then wrode after Meeting 12 Miles to Josiah Browns, Lodged there[.]

The 29th we set of[f] from Josiah Browns an[d] Crossed Chowan River at Wyns ferry about 14 miles thence to John Shepherds about 10 miles and Lodged there. & on the 30th proceeded from John Shepperds [Shepherd's] and wrode to Exum Newbys at Poigs River Bridge about 23 miles from thence the 1st of ye 12th mo. to wells monthly meeting 5 miles where things were Conducted pretty much to my satisfaction[.] From thence to Old neck meeting 5 miles lodged at Heziah Pretlows at that meeting I was sorrowfully Effected at the smallness of the number that attended from thence to Suttons Creek meeting 4 miles lodged at Benjamin Albertsons then rode to Nathan Morris' 6 miles then rode 4 miles to Simon's [Symon's] Creek meeting then 4 miles to Aaron Morris' junior lodged at his house[;] next day had a meeting at Newbygun [Newbegun] Creek meeting house hardby went back to Aaron Morris's took dinner then rode 9 miles to the narrows of Pasquotank lodged at Abel Truebloods had a meeting at their meeting house hardby next day then rode 9 miles to Nathan Morriss afforementioned lodged there[.] Next morning rode 2 miles to their meeting at little River then rode 4 miles to Benjamin Albertsons afforementioned lodged there[.] Next morning rode 6 miles to wells [9] where I had been at the first meeting I was at in them parts[.] Had a meeting there[,] after meeting rode 6 miles to Thomas Newbys lodged there[.] Next day had a meeting at Piny woods [10] the last meeting I had in Carolina[.] Rode that evening 20 miles to John Sheppherds lodged there[.] Next morning rode 12 miles to Jesse Copelands in Virginia took dinner then rode 20 miles to the widow Miriam Scotts lodged there[.] Rode next morning 20 miles to Stanton [11] meeting where I met with Joseph Potts & Companion[.] After meeting went to Charles Hamlens took dinner rode 20 miles being the 11th day of the 12 month[.] Lodged at a house of one

[9] This meeting was established before 1764; by 1850 meetings had been suspended and the meeting house was sold in that year.

[10] Piney Woods meeting, like most of these meetings, was strong during the first quarter of the nineteenth century; from then on most of its people moved to central North Carolina or west to Ohio or Indiana.

[11] Stanton meeting was established in the later years of the eighteenth century and was suspended in 1829.

Reeves[.] Next morning rode 15 miles to Gravily [Gravelly] Run meeting[.] After meeting went to a friends house named James Butler 2 miles distant from the meeting house. Next day rode 30 Miles and lodged at a friendly mans house the next day rode 30 Miles & Lodged at a mans house near Luninburg [Lunenburg] Courthouse from thence rode about 30 Miles to Cot° & lodged where we were courteously entertained[.] From thence we rode to John Morris about 30 miles[.] From thence to Micajah Moormans [12] being 15 computed miles & dined[,] from thence To the widow Moormans 10 Miles & lodged[.] The next day being the 18 day of the month rode 2 Miles and attended South river Monthly Meeting [13] where matters were conducted to my satisfaction[.] After Meeting rode near two miles to Achillis Douglas [14] and lodged[.] Next day being first day was at their meeting at South River again[,] rode that evening 12 miles to Micajah Moormans before mentioned lodged[.] Next morning rode 2 miles to their meeting Called Seneca that evening rode 10 miles to Samuel Davies lodged there had a meeting at the same house that evening[.] Rode 6 miles to Charles Lynchs [15] lodged there[;] from there to Goos [Goose] Creek meeting 25 miles & lodged att William Rogers[.] From Rogers to the Upper meeting on Goos Creek 10 miles the 24 day of 12^{m} Rod[e] 2 miles to Byram Ballard wher[e] we found his wife a Poor Condition distroyed By the Phisicons [physicians] who are men of No value[;] from there Rod[e] 30 miles to South River and Lodged at William Stantons[.] First day of the week & 26 of the month was at South river meeting and went 2 miles to Elizabeth Moremans widow & lodged there[.] Thence to Camp creek [16] Meet-

[12] One of the founders, in 1786, of Lynchburg, Virginia.

[13] This meeting was established prior to 1757.

[14] Douglass was another of the founders of Lynchburg. "In February, 1778, Joshua Brown of Pennsylvania and Achilles Douglass of Virginia visited the meetings in Virginia, passed through North Carolina, proceeded south, and were arrested at Ninety Six in South Carolina. They were tendered the oath of allegiance of South Carolina, which they refused to take, and refusing also to give security of £10,000 to leave the State, were imprisoned. While in prison they held meetings with Friends from the neighboring settlements. From Ninety Six they were taken to Charleston; and were not released until October, 1778, according to an act of Assembly."—Weeks, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[15] Charles and his brother, John, sons of Charles Lynch, the immigrant, were also founders of Lynchburg, in company with Moorman and Douglas.

[16] Camp Creek meeting was founded *circa* 1739.

ing in Louisa County 100 miles as followeth. Second Day traveled to Eleoner Thomson's a widow & lodged there[.] Third Day in the evening missing the way a Little Lodged at Samuel Lesir's[.] Forth Day Crost [crossed] James River at Pointefork or Columba and Lodged at Joseph Haden's[.] Fifth Day to Sisle Bell's widow and that evening went home with Elijah Johnson and had a meeting at his house Next Day; Seventh Day traveled up to Orringe [Orange] 20 miles and Lodged at Catlit Jones's who was about to Remove to Carolina[.] And was at a meeting Next Day called Dudgless [17] meeting and Returned Back again to Catlit Jones's & Lodged hear [here.] Joel Lewis Returned home wards who had traveled with me from the upper meeting on Goos creek to this place about 155 miles[.]

From Catlet Jones Setout [set out] for Smiths Creek in Shandore [Shenandoah] County the 3 Day of thee Year 1791 & Crossed the Blew Ridg [Blue Ridge] & lodged at a tannors hous[e.] the Next Day Crossed a Nother [another] Larg[e] mountain & in the Evening goot [got] to Betty Allins[,] widow and lodged ther[e] and plased [pleased] to Rest[.] Next Day from Catlit Jones's 70 miles on the 5 Day of the week & 6 of the 1 month had a meeting at Smith Creek meeting House 3 miles from the widow Allins and went 5 miles after meeting to Joseph Allins where Joseph Rambo Came to me and went with me to Crocked Run [18] 40 miles a tegus Jorney [tedious journey] very muddey to Jacob McCoy & went from his house 3 miles to Crocked Run meeting and came to Andrew McCoys[,] Lodged there[,] whom went with to Culpepos [19] 25 miles to John Garwoods[.] [20] We Crosed the Blewridg this day & was at their meeting nineth Day Set of[f] for Southland [21] meeting and Came to Able Jenneys 13 Day of the 1^{mth} From John Garwoods to Southland meeting 30 miles and stayed at Jenneys *2* Nights[.] The 14 Day of the 1mo was at Southland meeting which was much

[17] Douglass's meeting was located in Orange County, Virginia, about 1750 and continued for approximately fifty years.

[18] Crooked Run meeting, in Warren County, nine miles south of Winchester.

[19] Culpeper meeting in Culpeper County, Virginia, was originally with Hopewell Monthly Meeting.

[20] The Garwoods moved to Indiana about 1805.

[21] Southland meeting at Stevensburg, Culpeper County, was originally called Mt. Poney.

to my Satisfaction[.] 15th Day of the month and 6 Day of [the] week Sett out for South Fork [22] meeting 55 mil[e]s[.] Road [rode] 30 miles to Forquer [Fauquier] Court House stade [stayed] all night at John Turners a kind man to Friends[.] Nex[t] day rode to John Gibsons stade all Night[.] Was at South Fork meeting on first day the 16th of the month[.] After meeting Rode 10 miles to John Hursts[.] The Next Day was [at] Goos [23] Creek meeting 17 Day loged [lodged] at John Hursts two Nights 18 day of the month and third of the week[.] Sett forward for Winchester From John Herst to Thos Greggs five miles from thence to the blue Ridge and Chrossd Shanendoe [Shenandoah] River at Snickers Ferry to Lewis Neills 20 miles and lodged thare, from thence 6 miles to Hopewell meeting[.] From thence to Joseph Steers 5 miles and lodged thare and then to Ann Pughs 6 miles and staid thare all night[.] From thence to Owen Rogers 10 miles from thence to Bear garden [24] Meeting one mile and dined at Jacob Jenkinses[.] From thence 10 miles to John Pughs and lodged thare and next day to Back Creek meeting 1/2 a mile[.] From thence to Samuel Pickerings 8 miles[,] from thence to Mount Pleasant Meeting [25] 8 miles and Dined at John Fawcitts[.] From thence to Isaac Parkinses 7 miles and lodged thare[,] from thence to center Meeting[.] From thence to GoldSmith Chandlees in Winchester and dined thare one mile[;] from thence to Joseph Steers 3 miles[.] From there to Hoopwell [Hopewell] [26] meeting 6 miles to Charles Lingeys Dined their [there.] From thence to Richard Ridgway 2 miles lodged their[.] From thence to Middle Creek [27] 8 miles

[22] South Fork meeting established 1769 in Loudoun County, Virginia, about eighteen miles southwest of Leesburg.—Note that the date as given below for attendance at South Fork Meeting, "first day the 16th of the month," cannot be reconciled with the date given here for setting out, "15th Day of the month and 6 Day of week." If the 15th was a Friday, the 16th would be a Saturday. Probably the dates given as 13th, 14th, and 15th should be 12th, 13th, and 14th. The calendar shows that January 16, 1791, was actually a Sunday, as stated four lines further on.

[23] There were two Goose Creek meetings in Virginia: one, established 1756, at Lincoln, Loudoun County; the other in Bedford County, ten miles southeast of Bedford City. The one mentioned above was in Loudoun County.

[24] Bear Garden meeting in Hampshire County, West Virginia, was established 1766.

[25] In Grayson County, Virginia; established 1797.

[26] Hopewell meeting, in Frederick County, was established 1732.

[27] In Berkeley, West Virginia.

and was at their meeting the Hous[e] Crowded full[;] from our Cozen [cousin] John Spensors 2 miles stade [stayed] their 7 Day of week & 29 of month[.] From thence to Tuskarorah [28] 10 miles[.] Anthoney Lea & Able Walker went with [me] and was at the meeting their[;] lodged at Edward Beesons two Nights[.]

From Edward Beesons the 30 Day of the first month to Boolskin [Bullskin] meeting 20 miles & was at meeting their the first Day of the Second month & 3 Day of the week loged at William Grebs two Nights[.] From thence [to] Richard Ridgways[.] William McFasson went with me to Mahlon Hughs Near the Gap [29] meeting 20 miles and was at their meeting the fifth Day of week & 3 of month[.] Went from thenc[e] to John Hughs 7 miles & Lodged their[.] The Next Day went to Farfax [Fairfax] [30] meeting 2 miles went to Mahlon Jenneys & Dined their[.] Lott Tripp was their[.]

In the Evening went to Israel Jenneys 8 miles & Lodged their[.] From thence to Goos Creek meeting 2 miles so to John Hurses 1 mile & Loged their the 7 Day of month and Second of the week went to Leasburg [Leesburg] 8 miles and Had a meeting their and from thence to James Rattekin 4 miles and Loged their[.] From thence to Mahlon Jenneys 4 miles was at their meeting at Farefax [Fairfax] from thence to Joseph Jenneys 3 miles & Loged their[.] The Next Day left Lott Trip their & went to Moncacy 20 miles to Richard Richardsons & Loged their the 10 Day of month & 5 of the week[;] 6 Day had a meeting their to General Sattisfaction[.] 7 Day went to Pipe Creek 20 miles to Allen Forquers Lodged their & was at their meeting first Day & in the Evening Rood [rode] 15 miles to widow Gibsons who has a Poor helpless Daughter which is Now about 17 years oald whose Limbs are all Small & useless[.] From thence to Bush Creek [31] 4 miles where was a Large Gethering of Friends & other People[.] From thence Rood 5 miles to John Tolbuts Lodged

[28] Established 1733, in Berkeley County, West Virginia. This is said to have been the first place west of the Blue Ridge Mountains at which the gospel was preached.—Weeks, *op. cit.*, Appendix III.

[29] Gap Meeting at Hillsborough, Loudoun County, Virginia, was established about 1755.

[30] This meeting, in Loudoun County, near Leesburg, Virginia, was established 1733. The first meeting house was erected in 1741; and the second in 1763.

[31] In Fairfax County, Virginia.

their[.] From thence 20 miles to Sand Spring Lodged at the widow Mary Brooks. James Ratekin and Joseph Taulbut Came with me from Fairfax to this Place this 16 Day of 2mo. we ware [were] all of us at Sande Spring meeting on the 4 Day of the week where we Parted[,] they & the two friends from Bush Creek all turned home from the widows to me[e]ting two miles & one mile to Basil Brooks where we all Dined[.] From Basel Brooks I came to Engar Williams 20 miles Basel Brooks Junr. Came with me[.] From thence to Bottemore [Baltimore] 12 miles and was at their meeting first Day[.] Second Day viseted friends in Several of their families[;] Third Day Came 30 mil[e]s to Isaac Weebstors the 22 Day of the 2 month[;] the 23 Came to John Wilsons Near Dear Creek 14 miles[.] From thence to Baldfriers ferry [32] 4 mil[e]s from that to Notingham [33] 16 mil[e]s to Benjamin Chandleys [34] & Loged their[;] Samuel Wallis's Son Came with me an orderly young man. From Nillingham [Nottingham] to Thomas Mateers 15 mil[e]s 7 Day of the week and 26 of month[.] From thence to James Wilsons at Hocasen [Hockessin, Del.] [35] 8 mile[s.] From thenc[e] to Wilmington 12 mil[e]s the 27 D[ay of 2nd mo. 1791.]

[32] Bald Friars was an old fording and ferrying place on the Susquehanna River, above the Lower Ferry or Havre de Grace, near the present location of Conowingo. Lafayette and his men, while going to Virginia in 1781, found this "a treacherous crossing full of pot-holes."—J. Alexis Shriver, *Lafayette in Harford County 1781,* Bel Air, Md., 1931.

[33] In Cecil County, Maryland.

[34] Benjamin Chandlee, the emigrant, learned his trade under Able Cottey, "Watchmaker of Philadelphia." In 1710, Chandlee married Cottey's daughter, Sarah, and went to live at Nottingham. About 1741, he moved to Wilmington, Delaware, and here his son, John, established himself as a watch- and clockmaker. Another son, Benjamin, remained at Nottingham, where he manufactured mathematical and scientific instruments of high quality.—Henry C. Conrad, *Old Delaware Clock-Makers,* paper XX, publications of Hist. Soc. Del., Wilmington 1898, p. 19.

[35] Hockessin Friends Meeting was built in 1738 and enlarged in 1745.

BOOK REVIEWS

Wright, Luella M. *The Literary Life of the Early Friends, 1650–1725.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1932. Pp. 309. $3.00.

This volume, briefly mentioned in the BULLETIN of last autumn, is worthy of a fuller notice. The present writer knew of Doctor Wright's long and arduous labors in preparing her manuscript. The finished volume testifies to the effectiveness of her work.

In twenty-one chapters the author traces and evaluates the literary efforts of early Friends. The reference notes alone fill thirty-four pages, and a selected bibliography contains about three hundred and fifty titles. "In the period covered by this book, 1650–1725, four hundred and forty Quaker writers produced no less than two thousand, six hundred and seventy-eight separate publications." These figures indicate the dimensions of the field covered and the devoted labors required of the author.

Limitations of space preclude a detailed review, but a few selected chapter titles will illustrate the contents of the volume: The Inner Light; The Literary Principle; The Literature of "Sufferings"; Ventures in History and Biography; Quaker Essays; Sermons, Proverbs, and Advices; Quaker Journals and Quaker Life; The Language of the Journals; Introspection; Practical Mysticism.

No one who wishes to study carefully the literature of early Friends, and few who wish to refer casually to it, will wish to be without the guidance of this book. Others will read it purely as religious history. All will agree with the estimate in the Introduction (by Rufus M. Jones) that the author "has put all of us who are interested in this great mutation period of English life, and in genuine human nature, deeply in her debt."

R. W. K.

Hine, Reginald L. *Hitchin Worthies. Four Centuries of English Life.* London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1932. Pp. 399. 16 shillings.

Friends who read books will remember Reginald Hine's *Story of the Hitchin Quakers,* published in 1929 and reviewed in the BULLETIN, 19 (1930) : 111. The present volume is a supplemental study, of the same high qualities: charmingly written, beautifully printed and bound, profusely illustrated, and embodying the results of the most painstaking and laborious research.

The book contains a chronological series of biographies, sketching brilliantly but succinctly the lives of more than a score of greater "Worthies" and many lesser ones. Among these appear several Friends, such as Thomas Shillitoe, Frederic Seebohm, James Hack Tuke, Samuel Lucas and William Ransom.

American Friends will perhaps be most interested in Thomas Shillitoe. Of him the author tells how King George IV, on his death-bed in 1830, "brushed the Archbishop aside and said: 'Send for that little Quaker; he

is the only one who ever told me the truth.'" Reference is also made to Thomas Shillitoe's laborious ministry in America, 1826–1829, at the time of the separation. "He returned a beaten and bewildered man, and lived on to witness another controversy, known as the Beaconite Controversy (1835–6), which nearly rent the seamless robe of his beloved Society in England." (Page 189, and portrait facing p. 184.)

The author has well illustrated the great possibilities of local history. He has set a standard that many will admire, but few can emulate.

R. W. K.

Ward, Christopher. *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609–64.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1930. Pp. 393.

This book is a good example of first-class historical writing based not upon original research but upon the researches and writings of former workers in the field. The author acknowledges his debt to a goodly list of his forerunners, especially to the scholarly and exhaustive researches of Dr. Amandus Johnson.

The author begins with the story of the first explorations and settlements by the Dutch. He then devotes more than a third of his book to the period of Swedish domination, 1638–1655. Finally come "The Dutch Again," ruling the Delaware until 1664, when two English ships came into the river and seized the country for old England.

Of course the Delaware region had little experience of Quakers in the period of Dutch rule. One lone Friend (probably Wheeler) came to Altena in 1661. He was not very welcome but was allowed to remain. In the Plockhoy settlement it was definitely planned to keep out "usurious Jews" and also "English stiff-necked Quakers." The local settlers little dreamed that a few years later a great English Quaker would sail up the stately Delaware and claim the whole region in his own right.

The author tells his story well, in terse phrase and pointed sentence, with a wealth of curious circumstances and a rich vein of whimsical humor.

The colored map reproduced opposite was used as the inside cover of a special edition of the book; the plates were kindly loaned by the University of Pennsylvania Press. The map is based on a map facing page 496, vol. ii, in Amandus Johnson's scholarly book on "The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware." It gives an interesting picture of the country just before Penn's arrival.

Holdsworth, L. Violet. *The Romance of the Inward Light.* London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd. 1932. Pp. 191. $2.00.

Friends everywhere will welcome this new volume by the author of *A Book of Quaker Saints.* The first part of the book contains studies of the life of George Fox, Margaret Fell, and Elizabeth Hooton, and an essay on the closing scenes of George Fox's life under the title of "Fully Clear."

The second part of the book is meant more particularly for a younger class of readers. It contains four stories, partly imaginative but based upon fact.

To the
Black Minquas
Schuylkill
Kronamech
Torne
Mölndal
Nya Vasa
Kinsessing
Fort
Beversreede
Nya
Korsolm
Philadelphia
Sankikan
(Trenton)
Nantcoques hill
Finicum
Nya Goteborg
Upland
Printzdorp
Finland
Fort
Nassau
Fiske hill
(Brandywine creek)
White Minquas
(Susquehannas)
Fort
Christina
(Wilmington)
Timber
Is.
Christina or Minquas hill
Fort
Casimir
Ft. Trefaldighet
New
Amstel
Rising's Purchase
1655
Varkens hill
Territory
of the
Dutch & Swedes
1609-64

Nya Gifsborg
Ore River
Boomptiens Udde
Delaw Bay
Cape May
Cape Henlopen
Zwaanendael (Lewes)
John S Detlie

The titles of the stories are: "Grass of Parnassus on Firbank Fell"; "John Crook and the Haunted Room"; "Seek 'em Keeper"; "Mary England's Dream." The last story recounts a vision of a young American minister in the eighteenth century.

The spiritual and cultural flavor that has always distinguished the work of Violet Holdsworth is evident throughout the book.

Morgan, Mrs. R. C. *The Life and Work of Justine Dalencourt.* London: H. R. Allenson, Limited. 1932. Pp. 146. 2s. 6d.

Many American Friends have read in various periodicals about the wonderful life and work of Justine Dalencourt, the French woman who became convinced of the principles of Friends and who has been described as "the pioneer of woman's ministry in France." Her life work extended through the period of the Franco-German War and the Great War. Some readers of the BULLETIN may have seen the French edition of her life. Fortunately this translation into English is now available, and should have a wide reading among Friends in America.

Caroline F. Ware's *Early New England Cotton Manufacture* (1931) contains several references to Moses Brown (1738–1836), founder of the New England Friends' Boarding School, now Moses Brown School. The author refers particularly to the work of Moses Brown as a pioneer in American cotton manufacture, and prints a letter of 1814 by him (pp. 303–305) on the prospects of the cotton industry. The author is mistaken in stating (p. 19) that Brown University was named for Moses Brown. It is true that he was one of the earliest benefactors of the university, but the institution was named for his nephew, Nicholas Brown.

A sketchy and interesting but not very important contribution is Mabel Powers' *The Indian as Peacemaker* (1932). A chapter on "Peacemaking on the Delaware" tells of William Penn and early Friends in their relations with the Indians.

Readers of the BULLETIN are not unfamiliar with the writings of Professor Harry Elmer Barnes on the penal institutions of early Pennsylvania. Apparently, however, the former editor of the BULLETIN omitted reference to a very important volume by Professor Barnes, *The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania,* 1927. This book contains much on penal legislation under William Penn, and on the broader subject of Quaker influence on American criminal codes.—R. W. K.

Readers will recall the valuable article on Elihu Embree, by Matilda Wildman Evans, published in the Spring BULLETIN, 1932. In the same year was published by B. H. Murphy, at Nashville, Tennessee, a complete reprint of

Embree's paper, *The Emancipator,* the first journal in the United States devoted exclusively to the anti-slavery cause. The paper ran through only seven numbers from 4 mo. 30 to 10 mo. 31, 1820. Thus it is completely reprinted in a small volume of 112 pages—edited by Robert H. White, Ph.D., of Nashville. This reprint is valuable and most timely, since only one complete file of the original *Emancipator* is known to exist. The reprint is beautifully done on a fine quality of rag paper that will remain.

Siebert, Wilbur H. *A Quaker Section of the Underground Railroad in Northern Ohio.* Reprinted from the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly. 1930. Pp. 26.

This is an interesting pamphlet filled with thrilling stories of rescues and other adventures on the so-called "underground railroad." It contains numerous pictures of houses that served as "Stations," and of people who acted as "Station Keepers" or "Conductors." Some of those mentioned in the account are Aaron Benedict, Jason Bull, Joseph Mosher, Willis R. Smith, Joseph Morris, Mr. and Mrs. Ozem Gardner, and Reuben Benedict.

Smith, Charlotte Fell. *James Nicholson Richardson of Bessbrook.* London. Longmans, Green and Company. 1925. Pp. 243.

This valuable biography should have been noticed in the BULLETIN nearer the time of its publication. It is the history of an outstanding Irish Friend—a manufacturer of linen yarns, a philanthropist, member of Parliament, and a great lover of people. He established a model village for his workers at Bessbrook, partly to show that even Irishmen could get on without "the three P's"—public house, pawn shop, and police. An interesting fact (p. 49) is that when the fame of his temperance village began to spread, he received a cable from the United States asking whether it were true that a community of three thousand people could live happily without a saloon.

James N. Richardson passed away in 1921, mourned by his friends far and near, especially by his dear workers at Bessbrook, to whom he had been a friend and a father. The biography is well written and generously illustrated.

Sweet, William Warren. *The Story of Religions in America.* New York: Harper and Brothers. 1930. Pp. 571. $4.00.

The sections of this book devoted to Friends are generous in dimension and sympathetic in spirit. There are, however, some strange mistakes and omissions. The author writes "John Browne" for John Bowne. He tells in his text of no Quaker hangings in Boston, although he uses an illustration of Mary Dyer being led to execution and says in the inscription, "The only Quaker to suffer the death penalty in the Colonies." (If he had read any one of several books mentioned in his bibliography he would have learned about three other Friends hanged in Boston.) His bibliography knows of no revision of Thomas, *History of Friends in America,* since the

printing of 1894, and nothing at all of the writings of Isaac Sharpless. From lack of space or of information the author omits, in his section on schisms, the story of the great separation among Friends. But perhaps this omission may be credited to sweet charity!

Taylor, Rebecca Nicholson. *A Family History of the Residence of Rebecca and Sarah Nicholson, Haddonfield, New Jersey.* Privately printed. 1917. Pp. 24.

This is an interesting story written by Rebecca N. Taylor about her aunts, Rebecca and Sarah Nicholson, of Haddonfield, New Jersey. It was privately printed for members of the family, descendants of John Estaugh Hopkins and Sarah Mickle Hopkins. On the front cover is an interesting silhouette likeness of "Sally" Hopkins (1776–1808).

A shorter edition of the same story was published in *The Friend* (Phila.) Twelfth month 3, 1925, and has been reprinted in pamphlet form.

Van Etten, Henry. *Les Quakers: Histoire de la Société Religieuse des Amis depuis sa fondation jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1924. Pp. 130.

A brief outline of Quaker history, biography, and doctrine. The last two chapters are of special interest, tracing the history of Quakerism in France from early times to the relief work during the World War.

The same author wrote the following works: *La Société Chrétienne des Amis*, 1922; *George Fox*, 1923; *Glanes mystiques*, 1924; *Le Quakerisme et la Jeunesse contemporaine*, 1924.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania.* Facsimile reprint with an introduction by William Pepper. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931. Pp. xvii + 32. $2.50.

This is a limited edition (500 copies) of Benjamin Franklin's famous tract, dating from 1749, in facsimile reprint, and in very beautiful binding, with a list of the seventeen known extant copies of the original edition.

William Pepper's lucid introduction tells the occasion of Franklin's writing the *Proposals*. An itinerant preacher named George Whitehead arrived from Ireland in 1739; but the local clergy refused him their pulpits, and a group of citizens united to subscribe a fund for the erection of a building (in 1740) which could be used by any preacher who might have a message for Philadelphia; and the building was also to be used as a charity school. The University of Pennsylvania dates its origin from the opening of this school. Franklin became one of the trustees. Later, he was interested in establishing an "academy" for the "compleat education of youth"—in fact, a college; and for the furtherance of this idea, he wrote and circulated the *Proposals*. The academy opened in 1749; and before long it combined with the charity school, and the joint institution developed into a college and a university.

The *Proposals* reflect that clear sanity for which Franklin was famous. He has ideas about the trustees (he suggests "that the Members of the

Corporation make it their Pleasure, and in some Degree their Business, to visit the Academy often, [and] encourage and countenance the youth . . . and masters"); about the Rector ("that the Rector be a Man of good Understanding, good Morals, diligent and patient; learn'd in the Languages and Sciences, and a correct pure Speaker and Writer of the *English* Tongue"); and curriculum ("As to their Studies, it would be well if they could be taught *every Thing* that is useful, and *every Thing* that is ornamental: But Art is long, and their Time is short"). He lays special emphasis on history; and recommends "Gardening, Planting, Grafting, Inoculating, &c.", and "that *Benignity of Mind,* . . . the Foundation of what is called Good Breeding: highly useful to the Possessor, and most agreeable to all"—all leading up to "an *Inclination* join'd with an *Ability* to serve Mankind, one's Country, Friends, and Family."

Some of the specific recommendations which Franklin puts forth in the land of Penn's holy experiment now sound a little quaint; but the underlying purpose still holds good.

Information Wanted on the History of Friends' Primary Schools

The Committee on Education of Arch Street Yearly Meeting has been working for some time on the collection of historical data of Friend's primary schools throughout the limits of the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings.

It is proposed to prepare a map showing all the schools which exist or have existed throughout the various monthly meetings of both Yearly Meetings, and to compile short histories of the schools.

It is hoped to bring the scattered bits of record under one head, so that the information can be made more readily accessible in the future.

The Committee is asking that any person or school committee having information on the founding, attainments, or closing of any school be kind enough to communicate with William Macy Stanton, Cheyney, Penna.

Certain of the information desired is available from the original meeting records, but unfortunately some schools existed under the care of meetings whose records have not been preserved. Often too, very scant reference is made in the records of a most important step in a school's development.

Full cooperation in this collecting of data will be greatly appreciated.

Editor's Note

The Editor would like to publish, as occasion offers, notes on what might be called "Minor Anniversaries"—less important, perhaps, than the 250th of the first Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, at Burlington, or of Penn's arrival, or of the establishment of Falls meeting, but still of interest and worth a brief note. He would like to receive from members information of events, of birthdays and death days, of the building of houses still standing (especially if the houses are beautiful or historically important), or the like, dating from 100, 150, 200, or 250 years ago. Photographs or other illustrations are always welcome.

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Please report mistakes in this list to Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary of Friends' Historical Association, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

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Shoemaker, Mary W., 120 W. Tulpehocken St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Shoemaker, Thomas H., 120 W. Tulpehocken St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sinn, Susanna R., Alden Park Manor, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Smedley, Benjamin K., 2604 N. 16th St., Wilmington, Del.
Smedley, Caroline W., 4661 Penn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Smedley, Ellen E., R. D., Newtown Square, Pa.
Smedley, Mrs. Horace W., 102 E. Montgomery Ave., Ardmore, Pa.
Smedley, Rebecca, 6 E. Front St., Media, Pa.
Smedley, Samuel L., R. D., Newtown Square, Pa.

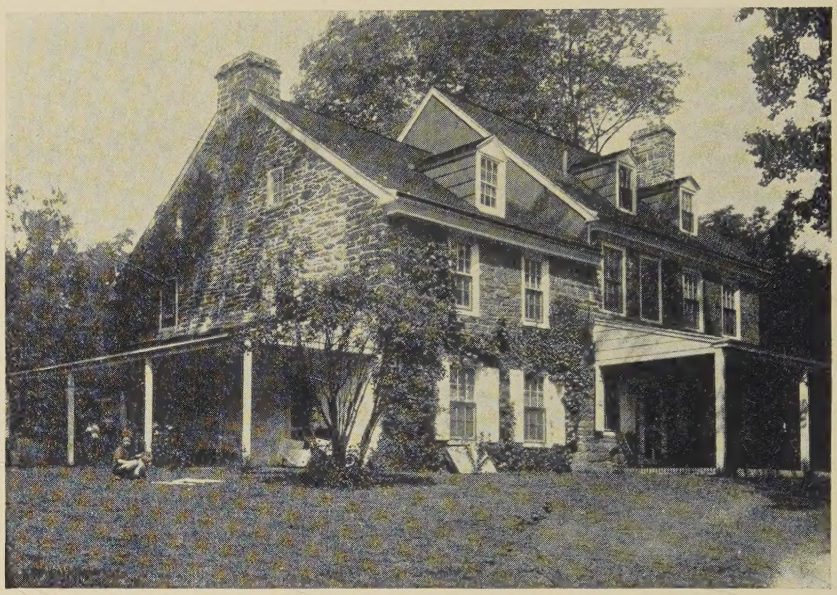
Smedley, Susanna, Westtown School, Westtown, Pa.
Smedley, Walter, Stephen Girard Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Smedley, William Henry, Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Smith, Albanus L., 45 E. Penn St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Smith, Alfred Percival, 2133 Fidelity-Philadelphia Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa. (*Life Member*)
Smith, Anna W., LaRue Apartments, Newtown, Bucks County, Pa.
Smith, Edith Mason, 940 E. Washington Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Smith, Esther Morton, 2122 Decatur Place, Washington, D. C.
Smith, J. Russell, Swarthmore, Pa.
Smith, M. Anna, Newtown, Bucks County, Pa.
Snipes, Edgar T., Morrisville, Pa.
Snipes, Jane Moon, Morrisville, Pa.
South, Walter, 2146 Green St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Speakman, Harry E., c/o Speakman Company, Wilmington, Del.
Spear, Mrs. Franklin B., 455 E. Ridge St., Marquette, Mich.
Speer, Mrs. Robert E., 24 Gramercy Park, New York, N. Y.
Spofford, Ernest, 1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Spruance, F. P., 8204 Cedar Rd., Elkins Park, Pa.
Stackhouse, William R., Hotel Marion, Marion, S. C.
Stanton, Mrs. William H., Ridley Park, Pa.
Stanton, William H., Ridley Park, Pa.
Starr, Mary W., 7 W. Chestnut Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
Steele, Esther C. M., The Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Steere, I. Thomas, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pa.
Steere, Jonathan M., Haverford, Pa.
Stevenson, Alice Buckman, 103 W. 23d St., Chester, Pa.
Stevenson, Katharine M., 2600 Waterville Rd., Chester, Pa.
Stewart, Frank H., Woodbury, N. J.
Stiles, Samuel R., 405 E. 2d St., Moorestown, N. J.
Stirling, Anne Biddle, 4517 Kingsessing Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Stirling, Edmund, 4517 Kingsessing Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Stoddart, Francis S. Janney, 301 Highway, Riverton, N. J.
Stokes, Mr. and Mrs. Francis J., Church Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stokes, J. Bispham, 141 E. Oak Ave., Moorestown, N. J.
Stokes, J. Stogdell, Summerdale, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stokes, Dr. Joseph, 220 E. Main St., Moorestown, N. J.
Stokes, Dr. Joseph, Jr., 159 W. Coulter St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stokes, Mrs. Joseph, 159 W. Coulter St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stokes, Mary Emlen, 220 E. Main St., Moorestown, N. J.
Stokes, Dr. and Mrs. S. Emlen, Moorestown, N. J.
Stow, Mrs. F. E., 8109 High School Rd., Elkins Park, Pa.

Stradling, Miss Elizabeth, 2228 W. Tioga St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Straker, Robert L., c/o Longmans, Green and Co., 55 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Stratton, Edward F., 372 E. State St., Salem, O.
Stratton, Mary Ellen, 742 Morgan Ave., Drexel Hill, Pa.
Strawbridge, Frederic H., 8th and Market Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. (*Life Member*)
Stretch, Carolyn Wood, 235 So. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Sutton, S. Helena, Haverford, Pa.
Swain, Hanna Moore, Suffolk Manor, Broad and Clearview Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.
Swayne, J. Bancroft, Kennett Square, Pa.
Tatnall, Edith C., 8 Argyle St., Rochester, N. Y.
Tatnall, Edward C., London Woods, Rye, N. Y.
Tatnall, Lucy R., 902 Delaware Ave., Wilmington, Del.
Tatum, Edward Parry, 1630 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tatum, Mary B. M., Radnor, Pa.
Tatum, Sarah E. G., 402 S. 22d St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Taylor, Elizabeth Thomson, Elkins Park P. O., Montgomery County, Pa.
Taylor, Emily H., 239 Gowen Ave., Mount Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Taylor, Florence E., 239 Gowen Ave., Mount Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Taylor, Francis R., 525 Ryers Ave., Cheltenham, Pa.
Taylor, Mr. and Mrs. Frank H., 8016 Seminole Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
Taylor, Gertrude A., Haverford, Pa.
Taylor, Hubert R., 525 Ryers Ave., Cheltenham, Pa.
Taylor, Julia Kirkbride, The Belgravia, 1811 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Taylor, Mrs. M. Stanton, The Brismonde, 1224 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Taylor, William, Media, Pa.
Taylor, William T., Elkins Park P. O., Montgomery County, Pa.
Thatcher, Mrs. Albert G., 216 S. Chester Rd., Swarthmore, Pa.
Thomas, Arthur H., Haverford, Pa.
Thomas, Esther Willits, Haverford, Pa.
Thomas, Mrs. Harvey M., 55 Central Park West, New York, N. Y.
Thomas, Reece L., 1149 Potter St., Chester, Pa.
Thompson, Charles N., Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
Thorne, Charles Embree, 1576 Beale Ave., Wooster, O.
Thorne, Nathan, M.D., 119 Chester Ave., Moorestown, N. J.
Thorne, Mrs. Nathan, 119 Chester Ave., Moorestown, N. J.
Thorp, Anna, Fallsington, Pa.
Thorpe, Alice Rebecca, 1022 Clinton St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Tierney, Agnes L., 118 W. Coulter St., Germantown, Pa.
Tomlinson, Ephraim, 715 Chester Ave., Moorestown, N. J.
Tomlinson, W. I., Kirkwood, N. J.
Townsend, Horace R., 356 Tibet Rd., Columbus, O.

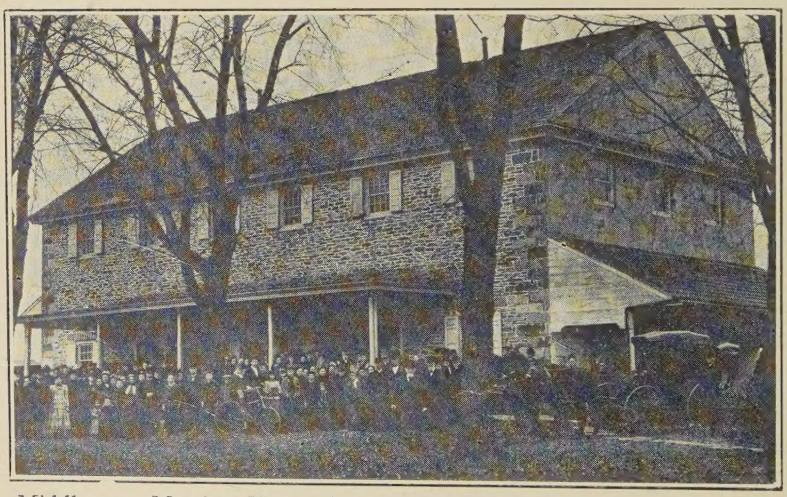
Townsend, John W., 825 Montgomery Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Trotter, Mr. and Mrs. William Henry, Towanda Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
Trueblood, D. Elton, 3107 N. Charles St., Baltimore, Md.
Turner, Beatrice Pastorius, 2322 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Turner, Henry C., 420 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.
Vail, Anna G., Front and West Sts., Media, Pa.
Vail, Frederic Neilson, 1135 N. Monroe St., Stockton, Calif.
Vail, James G., Front and West Sts., Media, Pa.
Valinger, Leon de, Jr., 31 Maple Lane, Dover, Del.
Vaughan, J. E., 3001 S. Union Ave., Alliance, O.
Vaux, George, Gulph Rd., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Vaux, Mary James, The Thicket, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
von Schwinbeck, Elizabeth West, 5429 Maple Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Walcott, Mary Vaux, 1743 22d St., Washington, D. C.
Walker, Hugh S., 609 Widener Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Walker, James F., Westtown School, Westtown, Pa.
Wallace, Philip B., 114 Washington Ave., Haddonfield, N. J.
Walton, Anna, Moylan, Pa.
Walton, George A., George School, Pa.
Walton, S. Francis, Moylan, Pa.
Waring, Bernard G., 48 E. Penn St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Warner, Mary J., 153 West Penn St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Warren, Luther E., 536 W. State St., Alliance, O.
Way, Pennock M., 23 Runnymede Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Way, Waunita F., 23 Runnymede Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Weber, Mrs. Robert M., 113 Jackson St., Trenton, N. J.
Webster, Bertha T., 4832 Penn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Webster, Clement B., 4832 Penn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Webster, Edward B., 3623 N. 16th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Webster, Horace D., 958 Kenwyn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Webster, Louise H., 958 Kenwyn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Webster, Mary H., 4900 Penn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Weeks, Mary W., R. D., Weekstown, Egg Harbor City, N. J.
White, Daniel S., Hotel Traymore, Atlantic City, N. J.
White, Frances M., 525 Walnut Lane, Swarthmore, Pa.
White, Helen Comly, Lansdowne, Pa.
White, Jennie, 807 Madison St., Chester, Pa.
White, Thomas Raeburn, Land Title Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
White, Walter Rhoads, Lansdowne Bank & Trust Co., Lansdowne, Pa.
Whiteley, Ida O., York, Pa.
Wilcox, Thomas L., 80 W. Johnson St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wildman, E. Theresa, 1620 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Wildman, Edward E., 4331 Osage Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Wilkins, Arthur H., 616 S. Grant Ave., Wilmington, Del.

Williams, Mrs. L. Chandler, 1520 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Williams, Mary R., Moorestown, N. J.
Williams, Mary R. G., 520 Panmure Rd., Haverford, Pa.
Williams, Thomas S., York Rd. below Wyncote Rd., Jenkintown, Pa.
Williamson, Elizabeth B., 137 Coulter Ave., Ardmore, Pa.
Williamson, Mary E., 203 E. Third St., Media, Pa.
Wills, Rebekah B., 204 Main St., Mt. Holly, N. J.
Wilson, Albert H., 765 College Ave., Haverford, Pa.
Wilson, Mrs. Charles H., 4920 Penn St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wilson, Edward C., Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
Wing, Elizabeth R., Moorestown, N. J.
Wistar, Mr. and Mrs. Edward M., 5449 Wayne Ave., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wistar, Rebecca B., c/o Maria Scattergood, 3515 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
Wollaston, Fannie Sharpless, R. D. 1, Landenberg, Chester County, Pa.
Wood, Anna Allison, P. O. Box 2182, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wood, Anna Wharton, 755 Main St., Waltham, Mass.
Wood, Edward S., Riverton, N. J.
Wood, Mrs. George, 5027 Schuyler St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wood, L. Hollingsworth, 501 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Wood, Mamie E., 1530 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Wood, Mary R., Riverton, N. J.
Wood, Percy Nicholson, 3404 Hamilton St., West Philadelphia, Pa.
Wood, Walter, 400 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Woodall, Helen W., 227 Washington Lane, Jenkintown, Pa. (*Life Member*)
Woodall, John, 227 Washington Lane, Jenkintown, Pa. (*Life Member*)
Woody, Thomas, College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Woolman, Anna, 21 N. Highland Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Woolman, Mr. and Mrs. Edward, Panmure Rd., Haverford, Pa.
Woolman, Henry N., 132 St. George's Rd., Ardmore, Pa.
Woolman, Mrs. Henry N., 132 St. George's Rd., Ardmore, Pa.
Woolman, Josephine, Ardmore, Pa.
Woolman, Lydia R., Panmure Rd., Haverford, Pa. (*Life Member*)
Worst, Helen Noble, 22 Runnymede Ave., Lansdowne, Pa.
Worth, Anna M., Claymont, Del.
Worth, Herbert P., West Chester, Pa.
Wright, C. P., Box 254, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada
Wright, Edward N., Rose Valley Rd., Moylan, Pa.
Wright, Florence B., 505 N. Walnut St., West Chester, Pa.
Wright, Luella M., 422 N. Dubuque St., Iowa City, Ia.
Wright, Mrs. Minturn T., 130 W. Chestnut Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wright, Mrs. Sydney L., Glenside, Pa.
Yarnall, Alice Hoopes, 4727 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.

Yarnall, D. Robert, 42 W. Upsal St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Yarnall, David G., Wallingford, Pa.
Yarnall, Florence P., Wallingford, Pa.
Yarnall, Stanley Rhoads, 5337 Knox St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Yarnall, William S., Haverford, Pa.
Yerkes, Sue C., 2944 Morris Rd., Ardmore, Pa.
Zelley, Alice, 17 W. Union St., Burlington, N. J.
Zelley, Fenimore Bacon, 135 W. Washington Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Zelley, Jane W. B., 135 W. Washington Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.
Zelley, S. Stockton, 135 W. Washington Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.



The Richard Wall House, Church and Old York Roads, Cheltenham, one and one-half miles south of Jenkintown, Pennsylvania: from a photograph taken in 1933



Middletown Meeting House, Langhorne, Pennsylvania: from a photograph taken in 1893, when the Meeting House was 100 years old